

ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILD WELFARE

Edited by

T.N. CHATURVEDI



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE RING ROAD NEW DELHI 110002

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NEW DELHI

December 1979

PRICE { INDIA : Rs 100.00
ABROAD : \$ 30.00 or £ 16.00

PRINTED BY NAVCHETAN PRESS PVT LTD., AT NAVJEEVAN PRINTERS,
1-E/2, JHANDEWALAN EXTN., NEW DELHI-110055.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In getting ready this volume we had to depend on the active cooperation of several distinguished writers and institutions and our gratitude extends to them all and especially to: the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay; the Embassies in India of Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, the FDR (and Franz Flamm, the author of 'Social Welfare Services in the Federal Republic of Germany'), the GDR, the Netherlands, and Tanzania; the International Council for Social Welfare, Tokyo; UNICEF in India; the UNICEF Regional Office for the Americas in Chile; the ILO in Geneva and its branch in New Delhi; the Ministry of Labour, Government of India; the Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India; the concerned departments in the Governments of the States of Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and the Union Territory of Delhi; and several other organisations and individuals who prefer to be anonymous.

The views and opinions expressed are of the individual authors.

PREFACE

The U.N. decision to mark 1979 as the International Year of the Child has made it necessary that we review the policies, programmes and strategies of child welfare in the present context of the national and international focus on the subject. The information on the topic, such as it is, lies scattered and is perhaps inaccessible and, at the same time, there has been the need expressed in several forums by social workers, policy makers and administrators and others to get it all at one place for their reference and further study. This provides the rationale for this work undertaken at IIPA.

The primary purpose of the IYC itself is to generate wide and sustained interest and activities on behalf of children in every country, realising that there is a close link between programmes for social and economic development and those directly concerned with the life of children. How many laws are there on the statute book in India alone supposed to be for children? One recent count puts the amazing number of no less than 115. Incredible as this looks, how many of us are aware how and on what occasion these laws are to be put to use? Assuming that they cover both the welfare aspect of children and also stand against their misdemeanour, it still passes one's comprehension as a citizen as to why this country, with such a large number of statutory laws, should still be so low among several nations in caring for and protecting its children. It is true that several of these laws are Dickensian in flavour and several others seem operationally impractical due to a variety of reasons. Even if we assume that the laws themselves are not totally unfeeling, their interpretation and administration very often are. It is at this point that the significance of a volume of this kind arises. Without harping on maudlin sentiment, we have tried to cover several areas in the organising and administering of welfare activities for children and, in the process, we have stressed the deficiencies and gaps in the existing legislations and the weaknesses that show up while implementing them. We have also inquired into the structure and working of child welfare institutions and pointed out how several of them are far from realistic and seemingly thoughtless vis-a-vis the children's interests which they are supposed to safeguard. Even the guardianship of the state is open to misuse, as several writers recall in their articles in the pages that follow. There are suggestions simultaneously for legislative and administrative reform but, clearly, legal reform by itself may not go far enough, for, as many writers aver, a lot depends on how the law is applied. Much also depends on the attitude, the approach and the imagination of those who actually handle children's problems—both

the state and the welfare voluntary organisations; for, after all, the aim is to provide compassion where it is denied in a harsh socio-economic system and to salvage as many as possible from among the misguided young so as to convert them into useful citizens. This, we persuade ourselves, is the ultimate object of all laws on behalf of children and the purpose of their administration. And this should also be the purpose behind the Year of the Child.

The concept of child welfare takes into account the whole child and the services in his favour start, in fact, from the pre-natal care of the mother herself. These services, thereafter, run through the entire range of measures of specific protection and care right up to the age where childhood stops. No single measure, by itself, however laudable, may be adequate; it may, in fact, prove to be counter-productive on occasion. Similarly, child welfare puts the child right in the midst of the family, for the problems of children are, to a very large extent, traced and traceable to the family ethos. In India, for instance, one reason for the relative ineffectiveness of child welfare programmes is attributed as much to the abysmal poverty of the family as to the total ignorance of child care in the modern sense, and rightly too. Here, in fact, lies the difference in policy and execution between the child welfare measures in underdeveloped countries in general and of those in the affluent and the developed. From this stems yet another concept—the societal conditions which prevail in any given country at a given time. These directly influence and circumscribe the child welfare measures, both at their policy and execution stages. The policy maker cannot forget the social conditions when he plans welfare measures for children nor can the administrator overcome the atmosphere and the circumstances in which a given child welfare or benefit law is sought to be enforced. Transplantation of policies and institutions without giving thought to the differing social climate will end up only in waste and frustration.

At the back of it all, is the role of the state which, at present, is obviously crucial, whether in regard to framing of policy for children, assisting voluntary effort in a scientific manner, financing their welfare measures or in executing them. But it is good to remember that it is not long ago that the state was unconcerned about child protection under the specious plea of *laissez faire*. The abuses of the factory system under which a 'child labour force' could be recruited and made to work for long hours from about the age of eight are still fresh in the pages of British history. Elsewhere in the world children's plight was equally unmitigated till perhaps the closing decades of the last and the early years of the present century. The state's evolution from then on to the present welfare state is indeed remarkable and has gained acceptance. But it is already being questioned in certain quarters whether this is the last and the best form of state's role in child protection. There can be more than one opinion on this. Some thought is veering around to the point that the state's role should not tend to be too overwhelming and that it should better accept a more modest

one of pioneering, facilitating, and safeguarding children's interests. The state should not aspire to supplant the family in regard to child care but only supplement it; the family should be accepted as the unit around which child welfare measures will be built, except where there is the danger of the child being exploited by misguided parents. Hence, it is held by some, that the state should be concerned more with the effort in child welfare, its formulation and measurement, and not with the result of such welfare measures in any totalitarian spirit. In other words, the cohesiveness and dignity of the family should be harmonised with the imperatives of public policy, social conscience and social ethos.

The means of administering child welfare measures, the institutions that handle children, the structure and functioning of these institutions, the personnel available to them, their finances, the lateral and vertical co-ordination between the institutions, the avoidance of overlapping, the realistic programming and project formulation, harmonisation of the voluntary and governmental effort and efficiency to put the available resources to the best advantage of the children in their charge besides social mobilisation for this purpose—are all factors which need to be looked into by the planners of child welfare programmes here or elsewhere.

Broadly the contributors to this volume touch upon all these aspects and many more. We have arranged the articles in a way that facilitates the understanding of the magnitude of the problem, while keeping the ultimate clientele of all child welfare programmes in perspective. The progress of the articles is from the general and the comprehensive to the particular; the treatment of the topics is from the macro to the micro in the overall context.

In this volume, we have also presented two sets of surveys, *i.e.*, of some selected countries abroad and then of selected Indian States. Both these series give in brief the range of services made available to the children in their respective areas of effort and the problems that they meet in their administration. Primarily they help us to realise that the advanced countries, while may not be short of funds for their child welfare measures, still encounter difficulties and face challenges which the underdeveloped countries have escaped so far or are yet to meet with. Urban conglomeration and the peculiar problems it creates for children, their increasing addiction to drugs, broken families, the deliberate neglect of children by their natural parents due to their social life, urban juvenile crimes, etc., are neither as serious nor as widely prevalent in the poorer countries, compared to the more affluent. This is clearly borne out in the surveys presented here of the UK, West Germany, East Germany, Netherlands, etc. What follows in the Indian States' surveys is, no doubt, a qualitative contrast so far as the problems go, but they invariably lead to the conclusion that the welfare measures in vogue are totally inadequate put against what is required and there is no easy way of meeting this scale of services for want of resources, both men and material. Besides, it underlines the need for adequate and informed

policies and perspectives for the future as the small dark cloud on the horizon may take threatening proportions with the passage of time.

Several writers in this volume have drawn attention to the deadening effect on child welfare measures of the meagre funds available for the purpose and, what is equally deplorable, of the wasteful use of the available funds, what with the unimaginative approach to problems of welfare, the untrained personnel handling welfare measures and the unconscious twist resulting from peculiar conditions as obtain in specific areas and States in the country. For instance, child welfare measures in West Bengal have seemingly come to be confined to children in Calcutta; in Kerala more than proportionate importance is being given to child education, as experience has shown more scope for success here than in other fields of children's needs; in Tripura the anganwadi programme which had extensive popular support at one time has apparently been turned into a bureaucratic effort of late; Madhya Pradesh has to cope up with an enormous demand for child services in sheer terms of the number put against the resources at its command, etc. These should be enough to lay bare not only the position now but in a way to indicate what is in store if we visualise the child population in this country at the turn of this century.

At the end of the volume, we give a number of selected documents and records. The UN declaration of the rights of the child, India's national policy for children, a statistical profile of the Indian child, the child labour population in India and the protective laws for children, including India and the ILO conventions and, finally, the report of the recent seminar in Bombay on children's services in the 'eighties are the documents presented. Important by themselves, they help the reader to get a panoramic view of the range of problems in the administration of child welfare measures.

I must express my personal gratitude to the various contributors to this volume and to the organisations that made a number of documents available.

In the IIPA, I like to express my thanks to Shri Mohinder Singh and Shri R.N. Sharma, Librarian and Deputy Librarian, respectively, for compiling the bibliography and to Shri N.R. Gopalakrishnan in charge of the Publication Division for his unremitting pains in helping me in editing this volume and for seeing it through in the press in commendable time. His colleagues in the Division have worked hard in the press and I am grateful to them also.

IIPA, New Delhi.
December, 1979.

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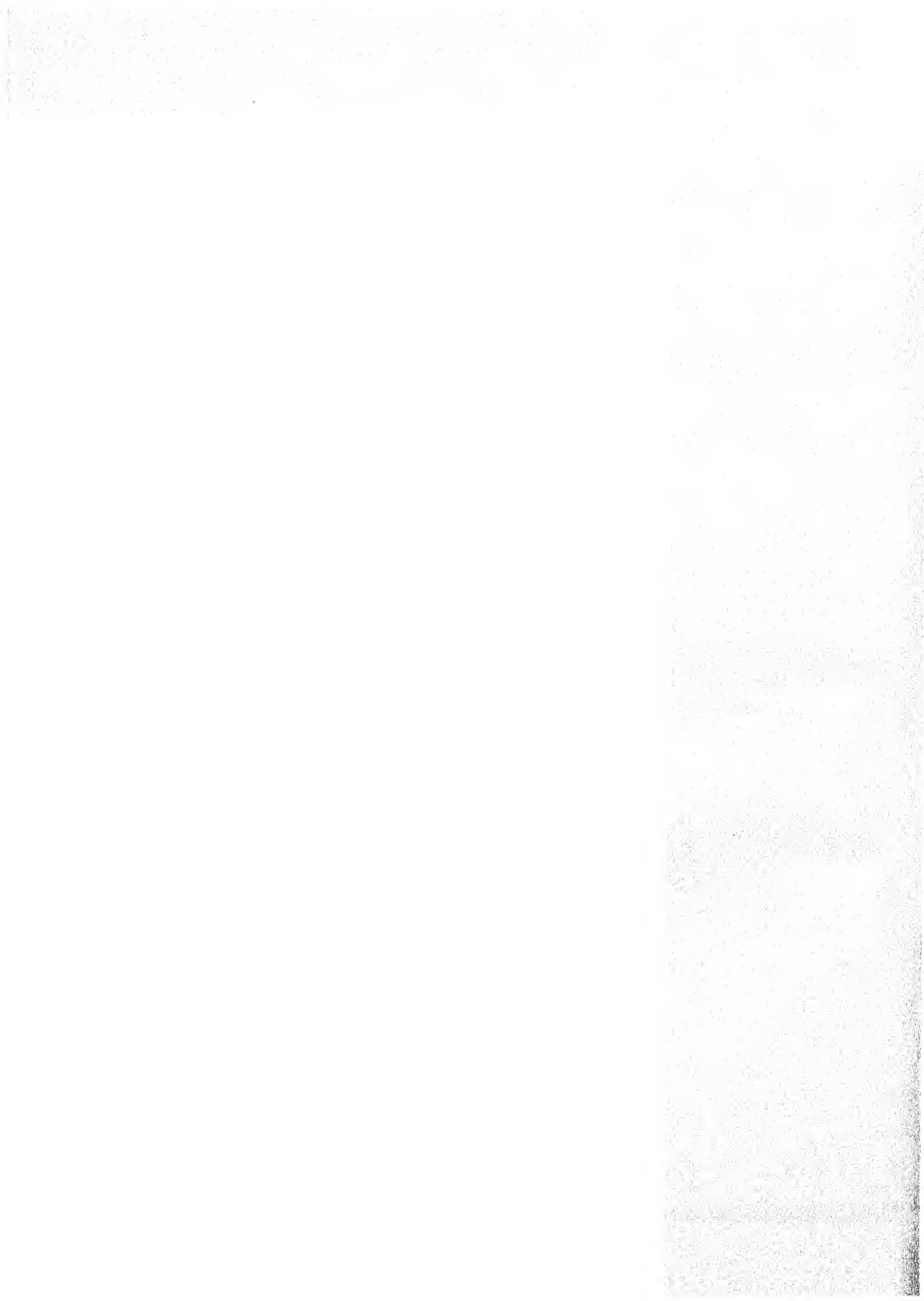
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National Policy for Children

V. Jagannadham

NATIONAL POLICY for children occupies a significant place in a special issue on child welfare administration. That policy precedes implementation is a common view but the dichotomy is now-a-days giving way to a continuum. An attempt is also made in this essay to refer to another continuum, namely, national, regional (State), local and community action continuum. These continuui play a prominent part in facilitating social development processes.

National policy for children is of recent origin as the concept of nation is no more than a couple of centuries old. Socialisation of new-born babies, however, is as old as mankind, if not universal, among living beings. Natural forces govern socialisation whereas civilisation requires acculturation of human infants through social engineering and development planning. The latter are a function of state action in cooperation with local communities and families. State intervention manifests itself in planning and providing services and institutions for demographic regulation, citizen development and community life.

Three elements of a national policy for children are: (i) population control, (ii) human resource utilisation, and (iii) promotion of social health. These three elements have a symbiosis about them. Regulated population growth helps optimum utilisation of human resources. Well utilised humans contribute to the maintenance of social harmony. Disturbance in the first causes corresponding distortions in the other two fields and vice-versa. Whether in pre-industrial economies there was or was not a deliberate regulation to maintain zero-population growth rate, we are not sure. But demographic balance was, according to Malthus, achieved by external factors such as wars, famines, floods, diseases, etc. In India, besides these, local customs such as compulsory widowhood, *sati*, female infanticide, etc., also acted as indirect checks on run-away population growth. These inhuman customs and external forces are being brought under control, and a balance between fertility and mortality is being achieved by planned parenthood and family welfare policies and programmes. These regulatory measures are not, however, mentioned in the policy reassessment.

SOCIAL CARE OF CHILDREN—BACKGROUND

In a rural economy that prevailed for centuries previous to the onset of industrial economy, the larger the number of children in the family the greater was the economic and social security, as the whole family lived in one place with hardly any migration among its members. Industrialisation and urbanisation accelerated spatial and social mobility of family members causing thereby a structural-functional change in the family as a unit of social organisation. Such changes as above prompt the people to limit the number of children and prefer a small size family. Old values, however, die hard and the State is promoting awareness among parents to limit family size and provide services towards achieving that end. For ensuring the survival and healthy development of the few children born, governments are called upon to provide preventive and curative health services. With a view to maintain economic stability and social harmony, the states are to provide education, employment, social security and social welfare services for the family as a whole. These, in brief, are the goals towards realisation of which national policies for children are directed.

Public concern for the national care of children could be traced back to the regulation of the working and environmental conditions of children employed in factories and mines in the early stages of industrialisation. The concern grew serious when there was a large scale exploitation of child labour in hazardous occupations under the then *laissez faire* philosophy. Humanistic writers and collectivist economists prodded the state to intervene and legislate against exploitative practices of private entrepreneurs. Those were the beginnings of the national policy for children in England and other European countries. After World War I, the International Labour Organisation, and since the end of World War II, the United Nations, through its member organisations, have been actively engaged in promoting international and national policies for children. The current year 1979, being celebrated as an International Year of the Child (IYC), is intended to observe, under the auspices of the UNICEF, completion of the two decades of the declaration of children's rights in 1959 and to stimulate awareness, advocacy and action for children by arousing the consciousness of adult citizens towards children.

Upto the adoption of the Indian Constitution in 1950, sporadic statutes of the Central and State Governments have been governing child welfare. For the first time the Constitution has, in its preamble, given expression to the vision of a new society based upon justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. Further to this, the Constitution, in Article 15(3), requires the children to be protected from discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 24 prohibits employment of children below fourteen years in factories or mines or in hazardous employment. These two Articles are fundamental and justiciable as rights. Though non-justiciable, the directive principles of state policy, in Article 39(e & f) require the Governments



to see that by force of economic necessity children are not required to join vocations unsuited to their age and strength. The directive principles also stipulate that children and youth should be protected against exploitation as well as against moral and material abandonment. More than these, a positive directive requires (Article 45) the state to provide free and compulsory education for all children below the age of fourteen years. These, however, are far from realisation under the present policies.

The above provisions are specially mentioned because they deal with what the Constitution requires to be done for children. These are only preludes to the national policy adopted later. There are other provisions in the Constitution dealing with the weaker sections, the backward classes, the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. These also have a bearing upon the national policy for child development. What was implied by way of ends and means of development was brought out in the five year development plans of the Planning Commission. The chapters in the five year plans on general objectives and strategy as well as on social services and social welfare make detailed statements and allocate resources for child development. Since its establishment in August, 1953, the Central Social Welfare Board also has been encouraging through voluntary organisations several development programmes for women and children. Since 1964 the Social Welfare Department of the Union Government has been reviewing and formulating policies for women and children along with others. Many committees and commissions have reviewed the policies and problems affecting children during the last three decades. There have been many experiments in programmes and in grants-in-aid to voluntary institutions for child welfare. Laws have been enacted to give effect to the stated policies concerning children. Details about these are not given due to limitation of space. The climax, however, was reached in August, 1974 when a policy resolution for children was adopted by the Government of India and tabled in the two Houses of Parliament at the Centre. The two Houses discussed and adopted the resolution which today constitutes the national policy for children.

THE CHILD POLICY RESOLUTION

The child policy resolution contains a fifteen-point statement. P.N. Luthra, the then Secretary, Department of Social Welfare, writes in an introduction to the pamphlet on national policy for children:

The statement on national policy is intended to serve as a pole-star to guide the official and non-official agencies alike in regard to the direction in which they should move for achieving full and integrated development of our children, who constitute our most valuable asset for posterity.

The policy seeks to provide adequate services to children both before

and after birth and through the period of growth, to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. Further, the state would progressively increase the scope of such services so that within a reasonable time, all children in the country enjoy optimum conditions for their balanced growth. In pursuance of the efforts towards attainment of the objectives, the following fifteen measures have been specified:

- (i) all children to be covered by comprehensive health programme;
- (ii) implementation of nutrition programmes to remove deficiencies in the diet of children;
- (iii) programmes for general improvement of the health, and for the care, nutrition and nutrition-education of expectant and nursing mothers;
- (iv) provide free and compulsory education for all children upto the age of 14; reduce wastage and stagnation in schools, particularly in the case of girls and children of the weaker sections of society; also to take up informal education;
- (v) provide other forms of education to children who are not able to take full advantage of formal school education;
- (vi) promote physical education, games, sports and other types of recreational as well as cultural and scientific activities;
- (vii) with a view to ensure equality of opportunity, provide special assistance to all children belonging to the weaker sections of society both in urban and rural areas;
- (viii) children who are handicapped, delinquent, begging or otherwise in distress to be provided education and other facilities so as to enable them to become useful citizens;
- (ix) children to be protected against neglect, cruelty and exploitation;
- (x) children under 14 to be prohibited from employment in any hazardous occupation or heavy work;
- (xi) provide special treatment, education, rehabilitation and care for the physically handicapped, emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded children;
- (xii) priority in protection for children in times of distress or natural calamity;
- (xiii) identify, encourage and assist gifted children particularly of weaker sections of society;
- (xiv) amend the existing laws so that in all legal disputes, whether between parents or institutions, the interests of children are given paramount consideration;
- (xv) in organising services for children, efforts to be directed so as to strengthen family ties so that full potentialities of growth of children are realised within the normal family, neighbourhood and community environment.

These fifteen measures could be summarised into health, education, employment and nutrition for children, as well as nutrition education for mothers. Normal as well as handicapped children are covered with special attention to children of weaker sections. These also seek to prevent exploitation of the helplessness of children by adults. They also provide for discouraging the employment of children and for encouragement of the talents of gifted children. The first thirteen clauses refer to the satisfaction of the needs of children. The fourteenth seeks to provide protection for the rights of children and the last hopefully looks forward to the satisfaction of the needs of children within the normal family environment in the community instead of institutions. These indeed constitute today's minimum set of goals which require reassessment as further developments take place.

The policy resolution lists the following five priority programmes in different sectors:

- (a) preventive and promotive aspects of health;
- (b) nutrition for infants and children in the pre-school age as well of nursing and expectant mothers;
- (c) maintenance, education and training of orphan and destitute children;
- (d) creches and other facilities for the care of children of working or ailing mothers; and
- (e) care, education, training and rehabilitation of handicapped children.

Proceeding from these specified measures and priorities, the policy resolution refers, in passing, to what has been done, as well as of expansion in the health, nutrition, education and welfare services for children. Improvements, no doubt, have been taking place in the living conditions of children consequent upon developments achieved during the last two and half decades. The policy resolution, however, mentions the need for 'a focus and a forum for planning and review, and proper coordination of the multiplicity of services striving to meet the needs of children'. In order to provide this focus and to ensure at different levels continuous planning, review and coordination of all the essential services, a National Children's Board at the Union Government level and similar boards at the State Government level are to be constituted. The state would endeavour to encourage and strengthen voluntary organisations. The state would also provide necessary legislative and administrative support to achieve the objectives.

Finally, the policy resolution expresses the trust and faith of the Government of India that:

the policy enunciated in this statement will receive the support and cooperation of all sections of the people and organisations working for children.

The Government of India also calls upon the citizens, State Govern-

ments, local bodies, educational institutions and voluntary organisations to play their part in the overall effort to attain these objectives.

This, in brief, is the content of the national policy for children enunciated in Government Resolution No. F. 1-14/74-CDD dated August 22, 1974 which was tabled in both the Houses of Parliament on August 26, 1974. The National Children's Board was constituted under Government Resolution No. F. 1-14/74-CDD dated December 3, 1974.

In 1975, as a consequence of the national policy for children, the Government of India have sanctioned the integrated child development services (ICDS) scheme which is to be introduced on an experimental basis in the first instance. Thirty experimental projects were initially located in thirty different blocks in different parts of the country. These have been increased to a hundred recently. Each project aims at the delivery of a package of services (supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check up, referral services, health and nutrition education, and non-formal pre-school education) in an integrated manner to pre-school children, expectant and nursing mothers, and women in the age group of 15-44 years. More details about the working of the National Children's Board and the ICDS scheme are not given as these might be discussed in other essays.

India is among the first few countries that have adopted a national policy for children besides having a population policy, an education policy, and a health policy. It is not known why the reference to the limitation of the family size has not been incorporated in the policy for children whereas the education and health aspects affecting children are incorporated in the national policy for children. An integrated child development scheme has been formulated and is being implemented. Students of public administration would be interested to know whether these satisfy the policy requirements or whether some thing more remains to be done. This leads us to consider and discuss as to what policy means and what policy requirements are.

The term 'policy' and 'public policy' are ambiguous and controversial. Chester Bernard seems to have said once that he never used the word 'policy' if he could dispense with it without being pedantic because its meanings are so numerous. A few usages of the term policy are: (i) a general rule of action; (ii) a general statement of purpose or objectives but not a rule of action; (iii) a statement which is not a rule of action within an enterprise but propaganda to induce some one outside it to act or not to act in a particular way. The term policy is also understood to mean practice, procedure, course of action, mode of management, line of conduct, system, programme, routine, habit, custom, rule, behaviour, way, method, principle, style, plan, scheme, strategy tactics, design, etc.

A more popular usage of public policy relates to what governments choose to do or not to do, for example, the prohibition policy. In the discipline of public administration, policy is understood to mean a long series of

more or less interrelated activities. Carl Friedrich combines most of the above disparate elements when he defines public policy as,

...a proposed course of action of a person, group, or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose.¹

According to him, policy should also refer to what is actually done rather than what is proposed in the way of action on a given matter.

No more need be said on the term policy. Those given above should help us to understand policy as a process of relating the means to the ends with devices for reviewing either one or both in the light of experience. Policy is a dynamic process of establishing goals, mobilisation of institutions, resources and personnel for achieving the goals, as well as, subjecting both means and ends to periodic review and revision. There is a policy-administration continuum as well as a continuum in action at different levels of government and community.

Viewed in the above light, does the national policy resolution for children satisfy the policy requirements? One could affirmatively say that the resolution satisfies policy requirements. An accredited statement discussed and adopted by the two Houses of legislature with an integrated programme implemented by the State Governments puts the seal of policy and satisfies to a limited extent the policy-administration continuum. Provision for evaluation is also made. The Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission is charged with the task of conducting bench mark surveys in the project areas and undertake evaluation of these projects after these have been in operation for an year or two. The Administrative Reforms Commission set up by the Government of India had recommended that departments and organisations in direct charge of development programmes should introduce performance budgeting. The Andhra Pradesh Government had since then followed the suggestion and in 1978-79 the State Government had submitted a performance budget of the department of woman and child welfare. Other State Governments must be doing the same. The National Children's Board as well as the children's boards at the State level were established and they must be reviewing, coordinating and taking other necessary steps for implementing the policy resolution for children.

LACUNA IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The foregoing account should have normally completed the essay but a few important questions require discussion on account of India's vastness in size and the diversities in sub-national cultures. These are well known. In

¹Janes E. Anderson, *Public Policy Making*, Preger Publishers, New York, 1975, pp. 2-6.

the federal republic of India, the Government of India plays a coordinating role. It may initiate policies but in respect of matters under State jurisdiction in the seventh schedule of the Constitution the State and local governments should act as staff as well as line agencies. We, however, find the Union Government playing a leading staff role and the State Governments are following the lead given by the Union Government rather than take a leadership role on themselves. The ICDS is a Centrally financed scheme. To give a purpose and a direction to the state efforts, the Government of India also prepared a national plan of action for the International Year of the Child. The plan provides for both advocacy and action. The national plan of action was finalised in the meetings of the National Children's Board. The Department of Social Welfare of the Government of India published a blue print for action in September 1978 with a detailed statement of roles and responsibilities for action of various departments, organisations and agencies. The department of woman and child welfare of Andhra Pradesh Government under directions from the Union Government held a workshop in 1978 on IYC. The workshop made several recommendations under the heads of medicine and health, nutrition, social and legal aspects and education. So also the State Government of Karnataka too held a workshop in 1979. No exception need be taken in respect of the dominant and leading role of the Union Government. In every federal polity this has been happening. But we would like to see a greater initiative on the part of the State Governments in matters under their jurisdiction. This is necessary for identifying the peculiar local requirements and for associating the local leaders and for mobilising the community resources at the ground level.

In pursuance of the national policy for children, the Andhra Pradesh Children Board was constituted in 1975. In September, 1978, district and block level children boards were constituted. The district collector is the president of the district level board. The presidents of panchayat samitis or the special officers are the chairmen of the block level children boards. The woman and child welfare department is in charge of the integrated child development services in the State. These boards at different levels were to help in the implementation of the schemes coming from the Centre. What roles are these bodies playing in actual practice is hard to assess because information is scanty, sporadic and inaccessible.

Other State Governments might have been acting upon the directives of the Government of India. The IYC has highlighted the child's place in national development and accelerated the child development programmes. There is multiplication of numbers, diversification of programmes, coordination of agencies and stimulation of awareness, advocacy and action for promoting the welfare of the normal, the handicapped and the deprived children. Do these, however, fulfil the continuum requirement between policy and action and between state and the community? In my view, the continuum is superficial, as funds and directions flow from the Centre.

The relevant questions on policy for children are: (i) is a national policy enough?; (ii) would the States have adopted a policy for children if the Government of India had not taken the initiative?; (iii) even now, could the States supplement the national policy with resolutions on their local policies?; (iv) are the accelerated steps taken under the spur of the IYC likely to be sustained and continued to encourage the efforts after the year is over?; (v) apart from the multiplication and intensification of the existing programmes for the care of the child and the mother, could something more be done, for example, in respect of preventive programmes, people's participation in the policy formulation and in greater effectiveness in implementation? The relevance of these questions becomes evident in the light of the following observations by high level personnel in and outside the Government. For example, M.M. Rajendran, Joint Secretary in the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, writes,

I would like to mention but briefly the shortcomings of the programme and the directions in which improvements are possible. The enthusiasm among the villagers has not yet been channelised to achieve sustained involvement of the community. At the grassroot level, the *anganwadi* worker has to shoulder all the responsibility for implementation though it had been originally envisaged that gradually village level voluntary organisations should be able to take over the functions of the *anganwadi* workers. It is necessary to make it a people's programme so that the village community can take over the responsibility for many of the functions. An important fact that has come to light is the difficulty in reaching the children below three who are really the most vulnerable section among the children. There are various reasons for this but it is necessary to evolve a suitable strategy for reaching these children, as investment of resources on them is even more rewarding than children in the higher age group.²

C. Subramaniam, the former Finance Minister in the Government of India, writes about the complex nature of attempts to reach the children. He says:

Giving high priority to children's welfare means singling out a target group which is intermingled with the rest of the population right down to the level of individual families. Therefore it requires building up an organisation and an administrative set-up that goes all the way from international agencies to each village and town of less developed countries.³

²M.M. Rajendran, "Integrated Approach to Child Development", *Swast Hind*, 1978 (The Rights of the Child, Special Number), p. 294, Central Health Education Bureau, New Delhi.

³C. Subramaniam, "A World Charter for Children", *The Hindu*, 28th September, 1978.

He speaks of research into the needs of children and one important area of research is how best the locally available food materials can be used to provide an adequate type of nutrition. This research also requires the build up of the human and physical resources to start the programme. Subramaniam's emphasis is upon local initiative and local community action. Lakdawala, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission wrote:

An additional growth factor is area planning at the district and block level. While this is a part and parcel of the wider reform of decentralisation and brings the advantages of local participation, local supervision, local insights and additional resource mobilisation from the economic point, there will be an additional considerable benefit.

Hitherto, problems have been looked at from the macro-viewpoint, largely Central, partly State and in one or two States very recently from the district viewpoint. The emphasis on district and block level planning will mean a better assessment of the natural land manpower resources and of local potential. While certain major decisions will continue to be taken at the Central and State level, their impact on the local economy can be assessed and the utmost advantage can be taken of Central and State Programmes at the local level. To the extent decisions are taken by lower authorities or local initiatives, they can be so adjusted as to lead to the optimum exploitation of natural resources and best use of local manpower.⁴

Indeed Lakdawala, has, in a way, answered the suggestion by C. Subramaniam about organisational requirements for community participation at the grassroots level. Further more, Lakdawala refers to additional areas for research when he says:

With the shift to decentralisation and weaker sectors, our hopes essentially like with the way unorganised sectors respond to the new opportunities and consciousness they imbibe of the likely problems, difficulties and dangers. And yet our lines of communication with them has to be established, and an understanding arrived at. It is only on the fulfilment of this condition that the growth forces can work powerfully and speedily.⁵

COMMUNITY AND PARENTAL AWARENESS

Advocacy, awareness and action by government and community constitute the quintessence of approach during the IYC. To these must be added

⁴T. Lakdawala, "Draft Five Year Plan 1978-83—Forces of Growth", *Yojana*, 18th May 1979, Vol. XXIII/8, pp. 5-14.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 14.

the stimulation of the awareness of parents and fellow members in the family, not only during one year but in the years to come and in the future.

The need to stimulate community and parental awareness is advocated but we are in the dark as to how to stimulate it. In the specific sphere of health, B. Sankaran, Director General of Health Services, Government of India, writes:

The idea of people's participation as far as health service (sic) are concerned have not been adequately implemented and this vast resource has hardly been tapped to the desired extent. As people's expectations from health services increased, the need for strengthening country's health services was recognised and subsequently the need for enlisting people's active participation assumed great importance.⁶

If enlisting participation in one area of service, namely, health, has been difficult, one could imagine the difficulties of mobilising the cooperation of parents and families for immunisation, nutrition, education of mothers and children under a system of centralised planning and state administration of services for children. The absence of multi-level planning in a meaningful manner and the prevalence of plan delinked from field administration is the Achilles heel of our national policies.

Non-participation by local governments and communities undermines the credibility in the efforts of government and non-government organisations. For example, the promised constitutional provision of education for those under fourteen years in a decade could not be fulfilled even after three decades. The population policy has been facing difficulties in implementation. On top of these comes a recent declaration about promise of state care for every destitute child born during 1979 on or after first of January, 1979, i.e., the International Year of the Child. Implementing this declaration, namely, promising state care of every destitute child, implies an enormous and complex machinery for identification of destitute children and establishing institutions of care and cure for them. Could this be done without mobilising the local community cooperation? The mode and media of mobilising public cooperation for any programme are still far from satisfactory; particularly for destitute children, public cooperation is hard to come by. Hardly any machinery is in evidence for enlisting public support. Welfare rights and discriminating protection are creating an atmosphere of welfare militancy among the eligible but discontented beneficiaries. The beneficiaries are multiplying and these could be reached only if the policies and administration are locally initiated with the support of the local government and community. However, we witness a phenomenon in which citizens are gradually becoming

⁶B. Sankaran, "Health Situation in India", *Swast Hind*, December, 1978, Vol. XXII, No. 12, 1978, p. 308, Central Health Education Bureau, New Delhi.

alienated from local administration and they are getting disillusioned and disappointed about the competence of political parties to satisfy the needs and rights of the 'poor'. Centralised planning and national policies without corresponding counterparts at the State and local levels run counter to the philosophy of sound democracy and decentralised administration. Loss of faith among people in the policy statements of governments erodes gradually the faith in democratic systems.

'Happy Child—A Nation's Pride', 'A Healthy Child—A Sure Future'. —None could take exception to these soul-lifting slogans about citizens in the offing. But what is the state of the child born today? To quote again B. Sankaran:

What are the problems we face to-day in the management of the child who is born to-day? We know that 35 to 40 per cent of children born in most parts of this country are born with a low birth weight of below 2.5 kgs. The survival of such children is certainly much less than a child born healthy and above 2.5 kgs.⁷

He further states that 42 per cent of our population is below the age of fourteen ... "It is sad to state that in most developing countries three out of four children to-day only survive and one of them dies before the age of five, in comparison to ninety-five per cent survival in most developed countries."

The employment of children below the age of fourteen is very high and there does not seem to be any prospect of its abatement in the near future. According to UNESCO finding in 1976, the per day, per capita expenditure on children's education in India is thirty nine paise whereas it is more than thirteen rupees in Japan. More depressing figures about the deplorable conditions of the indigence, ill-health, illiteracy and ill-equipment of the increasing numbers of children born in India could be given. A policy paper need not be cluttered with facts and figures of destitute, delinquent or handicapped children. It is enough to say that the government policies and programmes touch only a fringe of the problem. At the rate and in the manner in which these programmes are being expanded and implemented, we have to run fast in order to stand still. The national policy for children is indeed commendable but it is an isolated statement without relationship to the family and the society in which the child lives. With the present methods of administration by the bureaucracy in which hardly much public participation prevails, we cannot make much headway. There is a pressing need to make the national policy an integral part of family and social policies. These policies need to be communicated, advocated, reinforced, supplemented and acted upon by the state and local governments as well as communities.

⁷B. Sankaran, 'A Healthy Child—A Sure Future', *Deccan Chronicle*, 27th May, 1979, p. 4., Hyderabad.

NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL POLICY

A child outside home environment is a fish out of water. The provision of an appropriate home environment for each child requires the formulation of a family policy. We have a population policy, health policy, education policy, housing policy, welfare programmes and so on. Do all these converge into a family policy or social policy with capital S and capital P or do we have social policies with small s and small p? Could we formulate a social policy in which the 15th point in the child policy resolution is made effective, making family the focus and forum for child development as well as the starting and dominant force? What are the implications of formulating a social policy? And what is a social policy, any way? Could there be a national policy for children without a family policy which is part of a comprehensive social policy?

The Constitution and the five year plan documents as well as the separate policy statements on population, health education, housing, etc., speak of each sector's contribution to the new social order based on justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. No attempt, however, has been made to work out the institutional, personnel and cost implications of pooling these policies together into an integrated social policy. Much less has there been an exercise in making explicit the element implicit in mobilising citizen's participation and community action apart from government departments' slow-moving bureaucratic action. We seem to be suffering from an assumption that all is well when the Centre passes a policy resolution and when it gives directives and finances for the States to follow. This is a suicidal approach to social development.

Social policy is a product of social politics, a term first used in the social science literature by a Munich Professor, Wilhelm Heinrich Richl (1823-1897). Richl considered the loosening of societal bonds rather than economic exploitation as the core problem in the disintegration and reconstruction of society.⁸ Social policy, then, comprises both purposive action and practical volition in a social context.⁹ The term social policy does not imply the definition of a number of phenomena but, rather, a point of view, an approach to the observation of economic and social phenomena.¹⁰ The point of view proceeds towards the unveiling of the causal connections between economic development and other societal phenomena. A further elaboration of social

⁸Werner, J. Cahnman, and Carl M. Schmitt, "The Concept of Social Policy (Social Politik)", *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 8, Part 1, January, 1979, p. 49, Cambridge University Press, London.

⁹Also see, Otto Von Zwiedineck Sudenhorst, "Social Policy and its Manifestations—Concept and Substance of Social Policy", *Social Policy*, Vol. 8, Part 1, p. 53, January, 1979, Cambridge University Press, London.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 57.



policy, in terms of politics and legislation is as follows:

The nature of social policy requires a particular characterization which has to do with the ultimate goal of all politics, namely, the tendency to develop legislation that may shape society. The nature of social policy is conditioned, first, by the purpose inherent in all social policies, that is, to promote the interests of a collectivity and, secondly, by the preventive character of social legislation. These two characteristics differentiate social policy from other activities which are related to the ends of social policy but which are separate categories of public action, such as relief for the poor and social welfare.¹¹

Just as child development cannot be conceived apart and separated from the family, the national policy for children cannot be effective unless integrated into a comprehensive family policy which again is a part of the larger social policy. Experiments under the national policy for children resulted in the integrated child development scheme. The time has come to experiment with family policy as part of an area planning at the district and block levels. Planning for action has to permeate to the micro-level of families and eligible couples. Parents' awareness and the States' competence to mobilise social action are essential. Human resource development is a more difficult and complex matter than materials management. The most difficult management problem in the national policy for children is to reach the children below three years in the family setting of the people the bulk of whom are below the poverty line. Such efforts require researches into social development techniques, community leadership, group action and mobilisation of human resources. While India has a national policy for children, it lacks the bones and sinews to sustain it because the States and the local government are only following the directives from the Centre. Hardly any initiative outside the Central Government is evident in the field of child welfare. At all levels, there is dependence for finances upon higher level organisations. There is very little evidence of local resource mobilisation. It looks as though the social engineering of to-day is not radically different from the socialisation of the past inspite of the tremendous strides in technology and public administration. Even though it is unfair, and we do not know why it happens, we find that 'in the tread mill world of hopelessness, children seem fated to repeat the ignorance and misery of their parents'.

SOME CRUCIAL POLICY ISSUES

Is India's policy for children an expression of earnestness or a mere pious hope. Sceptics point to the shortcomings of many plans and programmes

¹¹Otto Von Zwiedineck Sudenhorst, *op. cit.*, p. 58.



vis-a-vis the magnitude of the size and the complexity of the problem in satisfying the needs and doing justice according to the declared rights of children. India is not alone in this respect. Julia Henderson has raised some crucial policy issues in a forthright manner. She says:

Governments are likely to make many resounding policy statements but the fulfilment of these plans will constantly be curtailed because of an economic or political crisis, a flood, a plague of locusts or a civil war.¹²

But she is neither cynical nor pessimistic so as to describe IYC as 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbals'. She is sober and modest in her conclusions. She writes:

With such massive numbers of children living in countries where poverty, disease and illiteracy are still the lot of a majority of the population, it is hardly realistic to expect that great improvements in meeting the basic needs of children will take place in the short run.¹³

With special reference to the IYC, she writes:

The IYC is a 'consciousness raising' effort if sufficient pressure can be built up within each country to convince the policy makers of their short-sightedness in wasting the potential of the new generation, it is possible to change some priorities. This is why the role of voluntary citizen groups in the national commissions is so important and the participation of senior political and civil service officials is so vital.¹⁴

In Europe too, the rights of the child as set out in the UN declaration twenty years ago are not fully realised. Elisabeth Jager has given a brief account of 'Rights in Practice' in Europe. What frustrates an Indian citizen could be illustrated from one example—unsuccessful efforts at providing a home and family care for needy children under the Adoption Bill which was twice attempted to be enacted into a statute but both times failure visited the efforts because of the 'short sightedness' of policy makers mentioned by Julia Henderson. The Bill was introduced several times since 1965 and always it met with opposition and could not be enacted into law.

The general theme of IYC, in India is 'reaching the deprived child'¹⁵

¹²Julia Henderson, "A Crusade for Children in a Special Report", *People*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1978, International Planned Parenthood Federation, London.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵National Plan of Action for International Year of the Child, 1979, Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Department of Social Welfare, New Delhi, September 1978, p. 4.

In the national plan of action, the Government of India declared that IYC should not be construed as a one year programme but should be viewed as a spring board for vigorous and continued action during the residual part of the century. To this end the Government suggested that a perspective plan for the next two decades (1979-99) should be evolved. In the same pamphlet, the Government of India cautiously mentioned:

However, in view of our resource constraints and differential degrees of ecological deprivation, our approach must be endowed with a certain focus and realism.¹⁶

The idealism of the IYC is pitted against the realism of the resources constraints by the Government of India. The child is a helpless and an inarticulate dependent upon the adult guardians and policy makers. The 'short-sightedness' of policy makers and the negativism of the bureaucrats prevent them from reacting favourably to satisfying the needs of children and protecting their rights. The ignorant and indifferent parents also could not do justice to them without a lobby or a pressure group for awakening the consciousness and to advocate the cause of the helpless and to protect the rights of the undefended. Where do we seek leaders to launch a movement for promoting the welfare of the normal or destitute, deprived, disabled or helpless children?

Students of policy sciences and policy researchers should pose heart searching questions to policy makers and prompt them to look beyond the next election and also to help in promoting the interests of the next generation—not by words alone but by action in the field at each family level. This becomes possible only when the national policy is supplemented and reinforced by declarations of state policy and community action. These together should form the 'sub-national' policy for children.

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¹⁶National Plan of Action for International Year of the Child, 1979, *op. cit.*

Priority Needs of Children in India

Meenakshi Apte

THE NATIONAL policy for children adopted in 1974 by the Indian Parliament declares children as a 'supremely important asset' and emphasises the need to provide adequate services to children both before and after birth and through the period of growth. Thus the policy takes into account the general health and education needs of all children and also gives attention to the needs of children belonging to some of the disadvantaged groups on priority basis. In this paper some of the most important needs of children are covered. The paper also raises some issues which are important so far as children's needs are concerned.

POPULATION PROJECTIONS

In 1975, J.P. Ambannawar published his own set of projections up to 2051. Other sets of projections have been published by Caseen and Dayson and by the Expert Committee appointed by the Planning Commission. Ambannawar's figures were predicted in 1974, before the intensification of the sterilisation movement in and during 1975-77 and the slackening of it after 1977 March. Ambannawar's figures do give a fair idea of the dimensions of the increase in the population of children alone between 1981 and 1991.

From Table 1 it will be observed that at the beginning of the decade the child population is going to be 39.53 per cent, there is general reduction during the decade and at the end of the decade it will be reduced to 36.77 per cent. However, it is also expected that there will be a net increase of child population. By the end of 1990, the expected total population will be 800 million, 36.77 of which is estimated to be child population which comes to approximately 280 million.

From the projections above it is to be noted that the States of Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Punjab are showing considerable decline. Rajasthan, Assam, U.P. and Karnataka are much above the national average, others are on par with the national average. If we accept that fertility is more closely associated in an inverse fashion than mortality with socio-economic status, then we must accept that the proportion of child population in the weaker sections of the population is significantly higher than in the



TABLE 1 PROJECTED CHILD POPULATION BY AGE-GROUP 0-14

Year	0-4		5-9		10-14		M/F X 100	Percentage distribution 0-14	Dependency load 0-14
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
1971	44,207	42,776	39,180	36,117	34,354	31,211	1,075	41.58	78.0
1976	48,104	44,819	42,354	40,302	38,625	35,395	1,079	40.77	75.5
1981	51,341	47,863	46,489	42,661	41,852	39,619	1,081	39.53	71.9
1986	54,617	51,036	49,968	46,011	46,022	42,064	1,082	38.18	68.1
1991	57,148	53,513	43,469	49,449	49,560	45,479	1,082	36.77	64.1

SOURCE: Ambannawar quoted by Ashok Mitra, 1979.



general population. This indicates that the problem of child dependency is more serious in these classes with regard to the state level projections it would be seen that the growth rate of the total population for 1971-91 varies from only 27 per cent for Tamil Nadu to 60 per cent in Madhya Pradesh 61 per cent in Rajasthan and 83 per cent in Assam. The situation that is reflected in Tables 1 and 2 regarding the child population in the next decade is quite serious and needs realistic approaches in development planning and population control policies. The economic developments in the first 30 years have underplayed the role of social development.

TABLE 2 GROWTH AND PROJECTION OF TOTAL CHILD POPULATION
BY STATES

	1971 per cent	1991 per cent
Andhra Pradesh	40.48	32.09
Assam	46.60	41.96
Bihar	42.58	34.08
Gujarat	43.05	35.70
Jammu & Kashmir	42.88	N.A.
Kerala	40.26	30.26
Madhya Pradesh	43.70	36.91
Maharashtra	41.34	31.74
Karnataka	41.13	43.11
Orissa	42.35	33.81
Punjab	43.30	32.58
Rajasthan	44.17	39.86
Tamil Nadu	37.77	30.36
Uttar Pradesh	41.85	37.19
West Bengal	41.90	37.66
India	42.02	34.28

SOURCE : Ambannawar, 1975.

CHILD WELFARE NEEDS

We have seen the estimates of child population during the next decade. This paper is made to visualise child welfare needs for the age groups 0-6, 6-11 and 11-14. It is not possible to cover all needs, most of the important needs are covered.

Maternal and Child Care Services

The objective of maternal and child health (MCH) services begin with the immediate health problems of mother and children and extend to health throughout life and to community health. The specific objectives of MCH are reduction of maternal pre-natal, infant and childhood mortality and morbidity and the promotion of reproductive health and the physical and psychosocial health of mothers and children. The principles underlying the



MCH* programmes are:

1. MCH services are one item in the package of services provided to the community through the health organisations such as primary health units, hospitals, etc.
2. Has a component of domiciliary services.
3. Family planning services are integrated with MCH programmes.
4. Traditional birth attendants are utilised.
5. Local self-government and voluntary organisations are involved.

The maternal and child health services have developed on many fronts. A review of the literature on the development would indicate that considerable efforts have been made to develop MCH services. In the First Five Year Plan, there were two major developments, one in the field of rural development blocks and the other in the formation of the Central Social Welfare Board to strengthen the field of social work amongst women and children. In the beginning it was fully realised that the lack of trained personnel such as women doctors, health visitors, midwives, etc., were an important handicap in providing effective services and hence the number of training centres were started to overcome these difficulties. MCH programmes were covered under child development programmes from the Second Plan period and since then the MCH services have become an integrated part of the total health programmes and their development is linked with the expansion of primary health centres. Effort was made to provide modern and scientific midwifery services to the mothers in both rural and urban areas. In the big cities the demand for maternity beds increased considerably as about 90 per cent of the deliveries took place in institutions. Paediatrics was recognised as the weakest link in the existing maternal and child health services and only 29 medical colleges had paediatric departments. During the Third Plan period along with MCH, health education and nutrition was given consideration as part of public health services. As a vulnerable group of the population, the pregnant mothers, the nursing mothers, infants and the school-going children were given special priority.

Demonstration child welfare pilot projects and family and child welfare projects were introduced along with their expansion. Primary health units in rural areas and maternal child health centres in urban areas were expanded. In the Fourth Plan, MCH services were integrated with family planning services. During the first fifteen years of health planning, the emphasis of health programmes was on: (i) control of communicable diseases; (ii) promotive, curative, preventive, and promotional services in the rural areas through PHC; (iii) expanded training facilities. In the Fifth Plan the primary objective was to provide minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutritional services for vulnerable groups such as children, pregnant mothers and lactating mothers. The minimum needs programme was given

the highest priority.

Immunisation: Table 3 gives the financial outlays for the year 1979-80. It will be noted that compared to the total, the number covered is low taking into account the 130 million children who are added each year. With the setback of family planning (family welfare) programme, it is expected that the number will be still larger. Data shows that there are 5,400 primary health units covering 17,646 PHU sub-centres and 20,489 family welfare sub-centres. In addition, there are 5,780 institutions involved in maternal and child health work. One thing is sure that these centres have helped in creating a network of MCH services in the villages. It is expected that one sub-centre covers approximately 10,000 population. The staff provided at these Centres is too inadequate to reach out to all the expectant mothers, often pre- and post-natal services to them. While considering the needs of children in the future, we will have to bear this fact in mind, that more financial outlays, increase in the number of primary health units and provision of more staff would be necessary.

Infant Mortality

Rural India is very much underdeveloped both economically and socially.

TABLE 3 MCH SCHEME—FINANCIAL OUTLAYS AND PHYSICAL TARGETS

Scheme	1979-80		VI Plan	
	Financial outlays (Rs. in lakhs)	Physical targets (Beneficiaries in million)	Financial outlays (Rs. in lakhs)	Physical targets (Beneficiaries in million)
A. Immunisation				
Tetanus toxoid for expectant mothers	29.00	6.00	3034.00*	35.0
Small pox vaccination	30.00	32.0		
B.C.G. vaccination	50.00	13.0		
Triple (DPT) vaccination	60.00	12.0		72.0
Primary & Booster Bivalent (DT) vaccination	122.00	20.0		65.0
Typhoid vaccination	4.00	5.0		
Measles vaccination	10.00	0.2		3.4
B. Prophylaxis against Nutritional Anaemia				
Mothers	88.00	11.0		60.0
Children	66.0	11.0		60.0
C. Prophylaxis against Vitamin 'A' Deficiency				
	95.00	25.0		125.0
D. Training of Traditional birth-attendance				
	38.00	0.1		

NOTE: *Total outlay

SOURCE: India Year Book 1977-78, Government of India.



The general health of the mother, proper care during pregnancy and child birth, and correct feeding and sanitary care of the baby are the most important determinants of the chances of survival of the new-born baby. Those factors are dependent upon the capacity of the community to provide proper facilities and the ability of the families to make use of these facilities. It has been observed that developed countries, where the infant mortality rate (IMR) is low, are equipped with adequate medical facilities. Higher per capita expenditure on medical and public health facilities is associated with lower rate of infant mortality.

Table 4 will show that in the States of Assam, Rajasthan and U.P. the per capita expenditure on medical care is very low. It is observed that centrally administered territories have a higher per capita expenditure on health both in the urban metropolitan areas of Delhi and Chandigarh as well as the

TABLE 4 PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE ON HEALTH IN STATES (1970-71)

Sr. No.	States /Union Territories	1966-67	1970-71	Number of beds on 1000 persons	Ratio of Doctor to Population
1.	India	3.93	6.21	0.51	N.A.
2.	Andhra Pradesh	3.71	6.02	0.65	4416
3.	Assam	4.00	5.11	0.47	2631
4.	Bihar	1.93	2.92	0.20	6063
5.	Gujarat	4.82	7.67	0.56	4900
6.	Haryana	1.30	7.50	0.54	6702
7.	Himachal Pradesh	5.21	11.69	0.95	9026
8.	Jammu & Kashmir	7.32	10.29	1.58	1810
9.	Karnataka	3.25	5.53	0.81	5300
10.	Kerala	5.20	7.18	0.90	3981
11.	Madhya Pradesh	3.10	4.87	0.33	21663
12.	Maharashtra	4.41	7.58	0.74	2592
13.	Manipur	4.85	10.37	0.67	7171
14.	Nagaland	15.32	35.02	1.72	5327
15.	Orissa	3.28	4.99	0.41	7008
16.	Punjab	5.40	7.38	0.60	5863
17.	Rajasthan	4.00	6.00	0.53	12662
18.	Tamil Nadu	4.53	8.99	0.55	3511
19.	Tripura	6.39	N.A.	0.58	7486
20.	Uttar Pradesh	2.26	3.23	0.40	7672
21.	West Bengal	4.27	6.12	0.78	1747
<i>Union Territories</i>					
22.	Goa Daman Diu	14.72	23.06	2.48	1366
23.	Pondicherry	14.48	23.71	2.33	N.A.
24.	Andaman Islands			4.52	3343
25.	Arunachal Pradesh			1.00	3200
26.	Delhi			2.40	N.A.
27.	Chandigarh			3.64	420

SOURCES: 1. Health Statistics of India, 1971.

2. Handbook of Social Welfare Statistics.



tribal areas of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, etc. Surprisingly of all the States in India, Nagaland has the highest per capita expenditure. Table 5 shows the Statewise IMR.

TABLE 5 INFANT MORTALITY IN INDIA—STATEWISE 1975

State	IMR	Rural		Urban	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	113.6	136.6	107.3	88.8	68.0
Assam (including Meghalaya)	126.3	142.3	134.3	91.1	64.1
Bihar	101.0	102.2	110.2	110.9	85.2
Gujarat	153.6	160.8	157.5	128.2	133.8
Haryana	78.0	73.7	92.0	59.0	64.1
Himachal Pradesh	136.0	185.0	120.2	81.0	68.6
Jammu & Kashmir	83.4	100.7	84.5	70.8	15.3
Karnataka	95.4	105.1	96.9	83.3	62.1
Kerala	52.7	59.2	52.5	41.5	37.9
Madhya Pradesh	144.0	161.0	141.8	114.9	111.9
Maharashtra	98.9	107.5	97.1	88.4	80.0
Orissa	132.5	144.7	134.9	108.7	97.4
Punjab	100.3	98.1	110.0	96.8	75.3
Rajasthan	139.7	144.1	153.2	106.8	101.9
Tamil Nadu	125.1	136.1	131.4	111.8	67.2
Uttar Pradesh	154.4	158.8	172.4	109.5	110.9
West Bengal	102.9	115.4	111.2	57.6	64.7
India	127.1	138.1	134.5	94.2	85.1

SOURCE: Sample Registration Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 4, October 1975.

The age at marriage, levels of literacy and urbanisation have also played an important role in the level of infant mortality. The mean age at marriage (for females) has increased from 13.7 to about 16 years in the last 5 decades. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu where the mean age is 18.4 IMR is low.

Education is one of the most important factors affecting IMR. Mothers with a higher level of education have experienced lower infant mortality rate. In India the higher educational level of mothers is also associated with high class, high caste, upper status. Income of the parents plays an important role in controlling infant mortality. The facilities available to the community can be purchased by parents who can afford. Urbanisation and industrialisation influence IMR. The population in urban area has better sanitation, health facilities, access to education, better opportunities for employment, etc. Antenatal and post-natal services are still very inadequate in rural areas inspite of the existence of over 5,000 primary health units in the country.

There is also sex differential in the IMR. It is observed that females have a lower IMR as compared to males at the national and State levels. But they suffer a major setback due to social neglect in the next age group.



IMR is found to vary with the order of birth, a biological factor. Higher mortality is found among the first birth and again at the higher order of birth. Children born in multiple birth face a greater risk of mortality than those born in single births. Since the mother's age at first birth is very low, infants are at greater risk. We cannot hope that conditions in the 80s would be drastically different and hence a great deal of work would be needed in making an effort to bring down the birth rate itself, and bring down IMR by using such measures as raising the age of marriage, raising the educational levels of women, providing medical services with qualitative as well as quantitative improvements.

Malnutrition Among Children

Nutrition plays a significant role in the physical, mental and emotional development of a child. Malnutrition and undernutrition retard the growth and development of a child. Several studies have been carried out on infants, pre-school children, reporting dietary intake, body weight and height and clinical symptoms associated with nutritional deficiencies. A few major studies are: (i) a large scale survey covering 5,000 children from poor socio-economic households conducted in South India during the late 50s; (ii) ICMR surveys in the 60s at six different centres in India covering both rural and urban area. The data from (i) and (ii) have been reported in the diet atlas of India (NIN, 1974) M.S. Swaminathan has recently reviewed the evidence from these surveys to assess the nutrition status in infants and children.

Maternal Nutrition: Since the mother has to nurture the foetus her nutrition has a direct relationship with birth weight. Several surveys have shown that most mothers are underweight (weighing less than 50 kg.), and have a calorie deficit of 500-600 calories a day. Anaemia is common, and about 50 per cent of women have a haemoglobin level of less than 10g. per cent during the third trimester. Anaemia is mainly due to iron and folic deficiency. Thirty to forty per cent of women show evidence of vitamin 'A' deficiency. Diets of pregnant and nursing mothers are frequently grossly deficient in protective foods like milk, pulses, leafy vegetables and even in staple cereals. The diets are deficient in calories, proteins and several other nutrients. The weight gain during pregnancy is much less than that found in developed countries. Even though the foetus can take from the mother, it still seems to suffer from the effects of maternal malnutrition and has low birth weight.

The dietary intakes of lactating mothers belonging to the poor income groups are far below than those recommended. The result of insufficiency in breast milk is seen in the form of inadequate weight gain of the baby after the fourth month.

Infants: In general, prolonged breast feeding is the rule in all regions. During the first six months a child depends totally on breast feeding and shows some increase in weight. After this there is a fall in breast feeding.

Pregnancy is the most common cause for the discontinuation of breast feeding.

Pre-school Children: As in the case of infants, in assessing the nutrition status of pre-school and school-going children Gopalan compares the calorie and protein content of the diet of pre-school and school-going children.

It is a fact that as income increases the energy intake increases. Large number of children are malnourished or undernourished because of poverty. It was believed that as gross national product increased, the gains of development will find their way to the poor. This expectation has not come true. Along with poverty, even feeding habits need to be reviewed. In poor families supplementary foods are introduced quite late. Invariably they consist of adult diets. Knowledge of cheaper supplements is lacking. Poor people have poor knowledge about the relationship between food, health, and nutrition. Surveys carried out by NNMB in 9 out of 15 major States in 1976 covering the poorer sections of society indicates.

It is thus clear that the diet of the pre-school child is unbalanced. It has been pointed out by eminent scholars that nutritional deficiencies lead to the aggravation of many other diseases, unfavourably affect productivity and contribute to overall mortality associated with malnutrition.

Data show that diarrhoea, cough, fevers and other unspecified diseases are important causes of high infant mortality in rural area. Potable drinking water, better health and sanitation facilities, better housing, general standard of food intake are all related factors, the lack of which increases the susceptibility of children to diseases, and results in high mortality.

Primary Education

There is rapid expansion in the field of primary education since independence. In 1960-61, approximately 19.15 million students were enrolled in primary classes. During the decade 1961-71 about 22.5 million additional children were on the rolls of classes I-V. During the period 1951-56, the annual rate of increase in the enrolment of primary classes was 6.28 per cent and showed a gradual increase of 8.85 per cent up to 1966 and a sudden fall was noted in 66-71. The annual rate of growth of enrolment in primary education during the period 1966-71 was lower than the annual rate of growth of the population. The rate of increase in the percentage of girls enrolled in primary classes was more than boys throughout the period. A steep increase was noted between the years 1961-66 (boys 7.28 per cent, girls 12.09 per cent). Enrolment ratio is computed on the total number of students who are enrolling in primary classes 1-5 to the population in the age group 6-11. Enrolment ratio increased for boys from 60.8 in 1961 to 95.5 in 1971. At both primary and middle school levels there is increase in the enrolment of boys and girls during the period 1966-71 (boys 46.3, girls 19.9).

There are State level variations in the enrolment in education. Kerala and Centrally Administered States show very good progress whereas Rajasthan,

Bihar, U.P., Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, are far behind. There is also Statewise variation in the enrolment of boys and girls. Secondly in rural areas the education of girls suffers most because of the high dropout rate amongst them. We do not have caste-wise rates of school dropouts but both boys and girls from low caste, low class, low income groups dropout from the school even before they reach the status of the literate, i.e., 4th standard. The school dropout rate is as high as 63.1 per cent at primary level and 85 per cent at middle school level. It is shocking to observe that approximately 10 million students were 'wasted' during the year 1965-66. Stagnation and failures are also responsible for wastage in education. There are various reasons for the wastage and stagnation, mainly socio-economic. Poverty, lack of interest in schooling, the long period of education, the non-vocational bias in education, stress on learning of languages, boring syllabi, shortage of teachers, early marriages of girls, demand for earning are all said to be the reasons for the wastage. In spite of high expenditure on education the country still continues to have a large number of illiterate children whose number is increasing year by year.

There are certain assumptions for primary education. It is assumed that for boys the present enrolment ratio of 95 would gradually increase to 100 by 1991. For girls, the ratio would be 93 per cent (Tables 6 and 7).

It is expected that there will be 43.70 million boys and 30.32 million girls at primary level and 7.96 million boys and 1.7 million girls at middle school. It seems extremely difficult to provide compulsory education for all children in the age group 6-13 in the near future. The national education policy is however very ambitious. By the end of 1990, the Government expects to attain 100 per cent adult literacy. Schemes of functional literacy, continuing education, adult education, etc., are being launched since 1978. One does not know, with such high dropout rate in formal schools, how we are going to attain complete literacy through *informal* education which has to develop its methodology of teaching and the curricula to be taught. It would be better to have realistic plans about education.

Vocational Education: As children grow they need a type of education which will equip them for earning their bread. As it looks, it is difficult to cover all primary schools with facilities for vocational training. We have the Apprenticeship Training Act in our country. But there is no machinery to implement this Act in the education department. The machinery attached to the labour department is very weak. A strong machinery which will notify and will systematically recruit the candidates for training is needed. Today it is left to the individual industry to implement the scheme. It is necessary to create such a machinery which will review the position from time to time, recruit the candidates and will do the placement.

Pre-school Education: Pre-school education is yet not a state responsibility. Hence it is considered as a welfare activity. However, for the last 40 years the pre-school movement is growing with the starting of welfare

TABLE 6 PROJECTED SCHOOL POPULATION FOR INDIA 1971-91

(Figures in '000)

Age groups	1976			1981			1986			1991		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
5	17,580	8,975	8,605	18,088	9,313	8,774	18,245	9,362	8,883	18,354	9,442	8,912
6-10	83,787	42,471	40,315	87,507	45,030	42,477	89,549	46,078	43,471	90,366	46,510	43,856
11-13	45,003	23,365	21,638	49,625	25,490	24,135	52,174	26,964	25,210	53,299	27,457	25,842
14-16	40,808	21,249	19,559	46,461	24,033	22,428	50,336	25,929	24,407	52,314	27,028	25,286

SOURCE : Registrar General of India, New Expert Group Committee, Population Projections I (Mimeographed)

TABLE 7 PERCENTAGE GROWTH IN PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION 1976-91

	Primary						Middle					
	Boys			Girls			Boys			Girls		
	Below 6	6-10	11+	Below 6	6-10	11+	Below 11	11-13	13+	Below 11	11-13	13+
	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment	Enrol-ment
1975-76	8.21	78.90	9.65	96.76	4.90	57.65	5.21	67.76	6.12	350.5	12.40	53.57
1980-81	6.86	83.30	7.84	98.00	3.75	67.50	3.75	75.00	6.10	42.70	12.20	61.00
1985-86	5.93	86.65	6.42	99.00	4.20	75.60	4.20	84.00	6.70	52.55	9.75	67.00
1990-91	5.00	90.00	5.00	100.00	4.65	83.70	4.65	93.00	7.30	58.40	7.30	73.00

SOURCE: Registrar General of India New Expert Group Committee, Population Projections I (Mimeo.)

extension projects, community development programmes and family and child welfare projects. A large number of balwadis have come up in the rural, tribal and urban slums. The wide spread wastage and stagnation in primary schools is one of the indications of the need for pre-school education. A recent study indicates that there is no need to have expensive equipment for a pre-school centre. Table 8 gives the total number of beneficiaries covered under nursery schools as well as balwadis run by the Central Social Welfare Board, Indian Council for Child Welfare, Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, etc. Taking into account the total number of children of pre-school age, even a fringe of the problem is not touched. An important aspect of the clientele who go to pre-schools is that it is mostly from better educated, higher caste and large farmer families rather than from the less educated, lower class, landless agricultural labour. Tribal children do not have pre-school facilities because they live in remote, interior areas of the country.

TABLE 8 NUMBER OF BENEFICIARIES AND EXPENDITURE INCURRED UNDER NUTRITION FEEDING PROGRAMME IN BALWADIS IN 1974-75

Name of Organisation	Rural areas		Urban areas	
	Benefi- ciaries	Expenditure (Rs. lakhs)	Benefi- ciaries	Expenditure (Rs. lakhs)
1. Central Social Welfare Board	1,03,791	50.47	61,611	29.98
2. Indian Council for Child Welfare	32,117	24.31		
3. Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh	10,261	9.15		
4. Harijan Sevak Sangh	6,849	4.75	16,630	6.14

SOURCE: Handbook of Social Welfare Statistics.

Table 9 shows the total number of boys and girls attending pre-primary school. Taking in to account the total number of children in this age-group the coverage is low. In U.P. and Bihar, it seems that the number of institutions and the number of beneficiaries are both low.

Balwadi can become a good base for child welfare activities and their number could be increased.

Juvenile Delinquency: Young persons in conflict with the law present the problem of individual and family disorganisation. At a young age when the individual should be achieving an increased awareness of the importance of accepting the common ethical values, as incorporated in our laws and codes of behaviour, most children have problems or difficulties in connection with growing up. But children who are called juvenile delinquents are victims of bad bringing up. So far in the earlier part of the paper we have seen that children suffer from malnutrition, poverty, lack of education, etc. There are so many inadequacies in their lives, with the development of the city and the consequent shifting of rural population, that the compact family group

TABLE 9 ENROLMENT IN PRE-PRIMARY SCHOOLS FOR GENERAL EDUCATION
IN STATES/UNION TERRITORIES IN 1974-75

Sr. No.	State/Union Territory	Enrolment		Total
		Boys	Girls	
1.	Andhra Pradesh	10,204	11,425	21,629
2.	Assam	2,517	2,210	4,727
3.	Bihar	1,065	681	1,740
4.	Gujarat	39,316	32,065	71,381
5.	Haryana	253	121	374
6.	Himachal Pradesh	630	685	1,315
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—
8.	Karnataka	47,640	46,440	94,080
9.	Kerala	—	—	—
10.	Madhya Pradesh	18,884	15,673	34,557
11.	Maharashtra	49,715	39,474	89,189
12.	Manipur	350	245	545
13.	Meghalaya	4,528	4,174	8,702
14.	Nagaland	—	—	—
15.	Orissa	—	—	—
16.	Punjab	467	328	795
17.	Rajasthan	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
18.	Sikkim	—	—	—
19.	Tamil Nadu	2,770	2,955	5,725
20.	Tripura	12,837	12,651	25,488
21.	Uttar Pradesh	19,672	15,133	34,805
22.	West Bengal	6,331	5,556	11,887
<i>Union Territories</i>				
23.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	143	124	267
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	—	—	—
25.	Chandigarh	1,244	963	2,207
26.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	70	103	173
27.	Delhi	10,586	8,966	19,552
28.	Goa, Daman & Diu	4,110*	4,000*	8,110
29.	Lakshadweep	259	262	521
30.	Mizoram	1,646	1,846	3,492
31.	Pondicherry	1,923	1,925	3,848
Total		2,37,160	2,08,005	4,45,165

N.A. = Not Available

* Estimated figures for sex-wise distribution

SOURCE: Handbook of Social Welfare Statistics.

has started disintegrating. The problem of juvenile delinquency is more acute in the lower stratum of society which is more influenced by the disorganisation process. The nuclear family that settles down in the city's slums slowly loses its identity. Economic insufficiency and crowding around in urban slums result in neglect of children. Such neglected children are either victimised by adults for their anti-social activities or the children themselves become offenders.

Gore (1979) describes the following trends in juvenile delinquency as observed through official statistics:

1. The majority of the cases are in regard to offences against property. They consist of minor thefts in most of the cases. Children coming from the economically backward families are tempted to resort to petty thefts.
2. The number of girls involved in the offences is low.
3. A large number of cases are crime under local and special laws such as prohibition.
4. The juvenile crime is not an organised activity.
5. In recent years educated children of well-to-do parents are also resorting to crimes.

Bhende (1979) observes an increase in the number of juvenile apprehensions between 1963-74. Nearly a third of the cases were in the age-group 7-11, the other above 11 years. When the distribution of the juveniles apprehended in 1973 and 1974 in the different States was considered, it was found that the major share belonged to Tamil Nadu (1973, 40.73 per cent, 1974, 33.98 per cent) followed by Maharashtra (1973, 22.76 per cent, 1974, 25.96 per cent), the two most highly urbanised States of India with 30.28 per cent and 31.20 per cent of urban population in 1971. Other States with comparatively higher proportion of juvenile delinquency are Madhya Pradesh. (1973, 7.23 per cent, 1974 8.10 per cent) and Gujarat (1973 6.51 per cent, 1974 6.64 per cent).

Orphan and Destitute Children: It is expected that the total number of orphan children will go down in the period 1981-90, because of the decline in the paternal death rate. This reduction is evident from the last three census reports. With the growth in MCH services even the maternal mortality rate will be reduced. This will have a natural effect on the decline of orphaned children. With the legalisation of medical termination of pregnancy, unmarried mothers will take the advantage of legalised abortion. However, we cannot predict if the number of destitute children will go down unless there is significant improvement in the economic levels of poor families. Orphan and destitute children have a right to grow in a family surrounding, have a right to have parents. It is absolutely necessary to expand adoption and foster family care facilities. All these years there has been only institutional care of such children. Shift should be towards the development of non-institutional services. This will involve direct community participation in helping the destitute and orphan child. This will help to reduce the heavy burden on the existing institutions. They could be utilised for specialised cases such as severely disturbed children who cannot make use of family surroundings or of children needing institutional care, such as children of T.B. patients, cancer patients, leprosy cases, or children of long-term prisoners be



considered for foster family placements. There is a need to start creating a cadre of parents who will be able to take care of needy children. The orphan child should be helped to be adopted for which proper legal provision irrespective of religious background needs to be provided.

Children of Working Mothers

All countries are faced with providing in some way for children who, for various social, economic or psychological reasons are unable to remain with their families or who need care outside their homes for part of the day. With increasing urbanisation, children do not get adequate care in their own families particularly if their mother is working. The need for day care is mainly determined by the number of mothers working outside their homes in various occupations with infants and children of pre-school age for whom arrangements cannot be made at home. The largest number of women are employed in agriculture. Amongst the Indian States, Andhra shows the highest number of working women. States like Punjab and Haryana, whose per capita income is the highest, have the least female work participation. A large number of women work in mines, plantations and government offices. Even the cottage industry and the construction industry employ quite a number of women.

There were 829 factory creches all over the country in 1970. It was observed that Assam has the highest number of creches. Maharashtra, Andhra, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have considerable number of creches. The uneven development of factory creches in different parts of the country could be due to the different proportion of working factories, the total number of working women and the applicability of rules relating to creches, etc., in the different States. It is observed that there is a smaller number of creches in the organised sector while the community creches and mobile creches are emerging in different parts of the country through the assistance of the Central Social Welfare Board. Miss Khandekar (1976) has pointed out that per capita costs of factory creches are increasing because of the overheads. Moreover because of the difficulties in travelling, working mothers are reluctant to take their children to the factory creches. On the other hand, a large number of women working in employment guarantee schemes, working at construction sites in major construction projects in the country, bidi and tobacco workers, weavers in small scale handloom industry, etc., do not have any facility of creches for their children. It will be necessary to create a network of organisations that will take up the creche services. Creches and day care centres can become community centres through which all kinds of maternal and child care services, immunisation, and nutrition services could be developed.

Child Labour

The Constitution of India which assures us justice, liberty and equality has recommended certain provisions against child labour. Article 24 of the

fundamental rights (prohibition of employment of children in factories, etc.) says: 'No child below the age of 14 shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment'. Article 39 (directive principles of state policy) says that the tender age of children is not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter vocations unsuited to their age and strength; and also that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment. Section 45 relating to the provision for free and compulsory education for all children till the age of 14 years is also relevant to restrict child labour.

In spite of the large scale unemployment amongst adults, many children below the age of 14 have to work. General poverty of families compels children to work. According to the 1971 census 6 per cent of the total workers in India are children. In the 1961 census, boys of 6-14 years were found to be workers, educands and idlers to the extent of 17, 46 and 37 per cent respectively as given in Table 10. The corresponding percentages in 1971 turned out to be 11, 46 and 43 indicating an increase in the percentage of idlers. As for the kind of work done by children, most of it is in agriculture including agricultural labour as seen in the various censuses. Non-school-going children belonging to poorer class are forced to work on others' farms as employment in agriculture is the only avenue open to them. From the available data it seems that children do not contribute much to the total labour force.

TABLE 10 PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN INDIA DURING 1961-1971 CENSUS BY AGE 6-14 YEARS

Census year	Workers		Educands		Idlers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1961	16.9	12.2	45.9	23.2	37.2	64.6
1971	11.3	4.5	46.0	27.5	42.8	68.1

SOURCES: 1. All India Tables (one per cent sample data)

2. Census of India 1961, Part II-A and II-B

The question of child labour poses problems in a variety of ways. There are a large number of legislations such as the Factories Act 1948, the Mines Act 1952, the Plantation Labour Act 1951, the Shops and Commercial Establishment Act, etc. So children do not get employment in the organised industry. But wherever work is done on a contract basis, there is no control over the contractors employing women and children of tender age. In hotels and small restaurants many children are employed. While considering the needs of working children, it will have to be noted that most of these children are out of school, they do not have benefits of medical aid and at a very tender age they are exposed to the bad side of the realities in life. Part time schools and vocational education centres will be needed for the working children.



Physically Handicapped Children

Physically handicapped children pose some special problems because of their handicaps. We do not have correct statistics about the population of all types of handicaps and their State-wise distribution. They have the need of institutional care, opportunities of education, and programmes which will rehabilitate them. Most of the work done so far is through voluntary effort with State assistance. Table 11 indicates that Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu have most of the institutions, while Orissa, Bihar and Rajasthan are not having enough number of such agencies. There are better services for the blind and the deaf while the services for the orthopaedically and mentally handicapped are not still developed in many States. To take care of the needs of the physically handicapped children we will have to create organisations for delivery of services first. Secondly, these services

TABLE 11 NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED IN STATES/UNION TERRITORIES

Sr. No.	State/Union Territories	Blind	Deaf	Orthopaedically Handicapped	Mentally retarded	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	6	2	2	4	14
2.	Assam	4	1	—	—	5
3.	Bihar	10	2	—	2	14
4.	Gujarat	19	16	4	6	45
5.	Haryana	5	1	1	—	7
6.	Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	—
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	4	—	—	—	4
8.	Karnataka	8	4	9	9	30
9.	Kerala	6	5	8	1	20
10.	Madhya Pradesh	8	9	6	3	26
11.	Maharashtra	24	19	13	8	64
12.	Manipur	—	—	—	—	—
13.	Meghalaya	—	1	—	—	1
14.	Nagaland	—	—	—	—	—
15.	Orissa	2	2	—	—	4
16.	Punjab	4	3	10	6	23
17.	Rajasthan	2	—	4	2	8
18.	Tamil Nadu	19	12	1	7	30
19.	Tripura	1	1	—	—	2
20.	Uttar Pradesh	11	17	2	4	34
21.	West Bengal	6	5	5	6	22
<i>Union Territories</i>						
22.	Chandigarh	2	1	1	1	5
23.	Delhi	7	2	3	5	15
24.	Pondicherry	2	—	—	—	2
Total		141	103	69	64	377

SOURCE : Handbook of Welfare Statistics, 1975



should be in education, residential care, vocational training and rehabilitation. Thirdly, better budgetary provisions will have to be made to develop these services.

SUMMING UP

The question must be realistically faced: how much attention should be given to children's needs? As discussed earlier the total child population between the age group 0-14 is going to be 270 to 280 million in the next decade. The present unprecedented growth in the total population is one of the major problems which aggravates many of the problems of children by the demands it places on family resources and social facilities such as additional space for school, teachers, food, milk, recreational facilities, etc. Any limitation of the number of children born in the next decade would depend on the millions of family decisions and the political mood in the country. Whether that mood takes pro- or anti-family planning attitude is unpredictable. If millions of families are going to be involved in this decision making, is it possible to reach them, educate them, without massive work? Who is going to do that? Administrators, social workers, journalists or politicians? The most important need would be to control population itself which will have positive effects on reduction of infant mortality and malnutrition.

Growing Urbanisation and Needs of Children: Though nearly 80 per cent of the population is in rural areas, there is a growing trend towards rapid urbanisation. Big and industrialised States like Maharashtra, Gujarat and West Bengal will have more urban population in the next decade. Though the present emphasis is on development of services in rural and tribal areas, urban slums also will require attention. Large scale rural population is migrating to metropolitan and smaller towns with families and children and there is tremendous pressure on the existing social services such as health and education. Due to over pressure these services are also diluted in quality. Children of working mothers, particularly those of construction workers, will need special attention as the pace of construction activity in the towns and smaller cities is likely to rise. With the growth of cities, it is inevitable to have growth of urban slums.

Involvement of Local Self Government: It is not a matter of this paper to discuss about the organisational set-up, but I still consider it as a need. At present the children's needs are considered only at national and State levels. Municipal corporations, municipalities or local panchayats are not involved in planning for children. Only some of the schemes are implemented through them. While voluntary organisations are also helping the governments to develop services to meet the needs, they will not be able to cover even the fringe of the population. For various programmes gram panchayats and municipal institutions should be considered a proper organisation to imple-



ment programmes. This will involve people's participation. Let us take the example of running the integrated child development scheme (ICDS) in Bombay in which it would have been proper if the scheme was handled by the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay.

Inter-State and Intra-State Inequalities: It will be essential to note that there are large variations in the provision of services. The heart land of the country consisting of Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa do not have well developed social services compared to other States like Punjab, Haryana and Maharashtra. The Centrally Administered States have better services and also higher per capita expenses in meeting health and education needs. During the next decade some effort will be needed to provide equal funds (based on total child population to all the States). Within the States all regions are not getting equal opportunities to develop social services. Maharashtra is a fine example of this. Three districts of Konkan and five districts of Marathwada are lacking general development as also in meeting some of the needs of children. In most of the States there are regional imbalances.

Need for Statistics: To note the regional imbalances, it is necessary to get district-wise statistics of health, nutrition, education, etc. This will bring realisation to zilla parishads regarding the need for qualitative and quantitative improvements in their services.

Manpower: Most of those working for children at root level are low paid and very little facilities exist for the training of workers. Except a few supervisory positions in health and nutrition, most of the workers are women. There is no research evidence to show under what emotional pressures they work but they lack a feeling of security while working in rural area. This is a matter associated with our social structure and this needs to be given some thought. Appointment of male workers would be a solution, but will they be able to reach large number of women where segregation of men and women even in domestic life exists? Otherwise efforts will be needed to improve the confidence of female workers.

Investment in children is a long-term national investment to improve human resources. If the child dies of malnutrition, or drops out from school, or is handicapped and is unable to contribute towards national income it would mean large scale wastage. Paying attention to the needs of children would therefore be very important.



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Organisational Structure to Meet Children's Needs

Neera Kuckreja Sohoni

ORGANISATION IS often observed to be the weakest element in the theory and practice of social welfare. Much of this is due to historical reasons. Social welfare programmes emerged in the wake of rapid industrialisation in the west as piecemeal corrective action. They began with a specified objective of redressing the ills inadvertently caused by industrial growth (and its twin concomitants, *viz.*, urbanisation and modernisation) for specific clienteles. At that stage, social welfare was more or less a sporadic and *ad hoc* relief activity which could be administered without elaborate organisational structures. Whatever action was to be initiated, could be managed through simple, *ad hoc* informal mechanisms operating at the level of the community or the clientele.

The second factor which contributed to the non-formal, unorganised nature of the social welfare sector was its extraordinary reliance on non-governmental and voluntary action. Unlike governmental operations which assumed massive bureaucratic proportions demanding equally elaborate organisational structures, non-governmental action remained the mainstay of social welfare. The latter, by its very nature, tended to be less reliant on highly formalised, organised mechanisms. Unfortunately, this legacy from earlier years, continued to pervade the social welfare field, even though the dimensions and scope of social welfare altered and expanded radically. Starting from purely remedial, piecemeal approaches, social welfare gradually took on the more basic 'preventive' and the more challenging 'developmental' roles. Yet, very little attention was paid to developing requisite organisational inputs in order to enable social welfare to perform its newer roles effectively.

This intrinsic weakness from the realm of social welfare has manifested itself in child welfare also, where particularly newer theories of child 'development', and 'growth' have given rise to 'child protection' and 'welfare' approaches, but not necessarily to newer organisational structures. Yet, child welfare is one field which, on account of its multi-sectoral and integrated nature, requires specific organisational mechanisms that can help bring about that integration. Neglect of organisational aspects can thus seriously undermine the viability and functionality of child welfare services.

In India, owing to a combination of factors, child welfare is forced to assume a massive operational scale. A high population growth rate which leads to a much more sizable child population and a higher dependency ratio makes a majority of Indian children fall into the category of socio-economically handicapped groups. Thus, apart from biological vulnerability, it is the social and economic vulnerability of the Indian child that places it at the core of welfare action. Evidently, traditional child welfare mechanisms which in the west were originally conceived to service a small segment of the total population cannot, in the Indian context, be employed to reach a major part of our population. The differences are not only on account of the status that the needy child in India has been forced to acquire as a result of demographic evolution, (from being a peripheral to a central client group of welfare action), but they arise also from the nature of services that require to be rendered to the Indian child vis-a-vis the child in an affluent society. Here, the battle is basic, viz., that of assuring survival and subsistence to a large chunk of the child population rather than the fancier, cosmetic surgery type of corrective action applicable in the west. Efficient and timely delivery of child care services in such a context acquires a different kind of urgency, which, in turn, demands more carefully conceived and organised managerial approaches.

Unfortunately, this factor has not been adequately appreciated in the planning and programming of child welfare in India. As in the overall field of social welfare, plans are drawn and programmes are evolved, but not enough attention is given to organisational inputs. Much of the organisational infrastructure of the 1950s, for instance, continues to serve the programmatic interventions of the 1970s, although the programmatic parameters, objectives, and content are vastly different.

Over the three decades, there have been substantial developments and departures in the concept of child welfare thinking and programming. Basically, there has been a movement away from: (i) piecemeal and isolated to large-scale and blanket approaches; (ii) sectoral to cross-sectoral and from specialised to integrated programmes; (iii) uni-purpose to multi-purpose schemes; (iv) segmented age-group to intra-age group approaches. At the heart of all these movements has been the recognition of a need to reach the 'total' or the 'whole' child, in a sustained and integrated manner so that neglect in any one sector of activity or at any stage during the growth process of the child does not undercut, dilute, or negate the effect of what is done in another sector of activity or at another stage of its growth process. As appreciation of this continuum has grown, it has, to an extent, influenced plan and budgetary provisions, but whether it has made any dent on the organisation of child welfare activity is a moot point.

Similarly, shifts in plan emphasis have occurred from one plan period to another, aiming to gear national attention on a priority basis to certain sub-groups of the child population. These have ranged from the juvenile

delinquent, to the malnourished child, to pre-school child, out-of-school child, and unemployed youth, and most recently, girls. Yet shifts in priorities have tended to remain verbal or theoretical. There has been little corresponding effort to consciously create or alter the existing organisational machinery to deliver child welfare services and action on a priority basis to these changing priority target groups.

ORGANISATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHILD WELFARE

Organisational structures ideally should derive their *raison d'être* from the goals and objectives of child welfare adopted by, and relevant to, a society. In a primary poverty society such as India, where millions of children, along with their families, suffer from the consequences of poverty, a full-fledged infrastructure is required to assist the average family to perform its normal obligations to children in terms of nutrition, health care, education and social well-being. Since a sizable number of families and therefore children either live below subsistence or hover around that level,* the situation should be considered critical enough for the government and society to give measures for the organisation of welfare of children an over-riding priority.

The experience of the past three decades, however, demonstrates to the contrary. The organisation of child welfare services has encountered a series of problems, some intrinsic and others extraneous and many of them chronic. Among the intrinsic chronic problems have been those arising from: (i) a lack of a coherent child welfare 'system' in the country; (ii) the low priority given to child welfare in the development strategy (inferable particularly from the low budgetary allocations); (iii) the lack of services matching the level of actual (felt) needs; (iv) the lack of access to services; (v) the lack of adequate logistical planning which is relevant to the needs of the clientele on the one hand and to the specifics of the service on the other; (vi) the lack of a policy perspective; and (vii) the absence of participatory structures. These are briefly discussed below.

Lack of Coherent Child Welfare System

The overall organisation in child welfare has suffered from a lack of coherence and coordination. There is a plurality of organisations dealing with child welfare whether governmental, non-governmental or quasi-

* In India, it has been estimated that the number of children from 0-14 has grown from 171 million in 1961 to around 232 million in 1974 and 243 million in 1979. In the same period the number of mothers in the age group 16 to 45 has grown from 93 million in 1961 to around 105 million in 1974, slightly declining to 96 million in 1979. Together, children and mothers are estimated to comprise nearly 62 per cent of the total Indian population. Assuming 40 per cent of these 62 per cent to be below subsistence, gives a stunning figure of around 150 million needy children and mothers who require to be reached through appropriate welfare services.

governmental, all of which subscribe to similar objectives, but do not necessarily share a common perspective or plan of work. Much of the programming takes place on an individual agency basis and there is no overall plan which earmarks and entrusts specified tasks to the multitude of agencies. This leads to a fair amount of duplication and overlapping which gets manifested at the highest inter-ministerial levels as well as at the grassroots level where multiple agencies may be found to be operating in pursuit of an identical objective for the same clientele.

Organisational incoherence is traceable directly to the governmental set-up. At the Central Government level itself, child welfare stands truncated as it is parcelled out among several Union ministries and departments. Among the ministries/departments dealing with child welfare are health, education and social welfare, food & agriculture, community development, and home (through the directorate of scheduled castes and tribes and the juvenile justice system). Unfortunately, the division is neither clear cut nor logical. Thus the Health Ministry takes charge of maternal and child health, family planning (now termed welfare) and nutrition. The Social Welfare Ministry, however, takes on nutritional programmes for the vulnerable groups. Subsidiary food and nutritional schemes are also carried out by the Union Department of Food while applied nutrition is attached to the Union Department of Rural Development. Likewise, education at all levels, including the pre-school level is entrusted to the Ministry of Education, yet pre-primary recreation is the responsibility of the Social Welfare Ministry. Institutional care services are entrusted to social welfare, yet, the subject of juvenile justice is handled by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Welfare of schedule caste and tribal children also falls under the aegis of the Home Ministry.

To add to this structural confusion, there are two extra-ministerial agencies, one governmental and the other quasi-governmental, *viz.*, (the Planning Commission and the Central Social Welfare Board) which participate in the planning, programming or delivery of child welfare services in the country. Here again, there is considerable overlapping in the activities undertaken by the Board and by the Social Welfare Ministry. Most recently, the creation of the National Children's Board has added a new element in the organisational scene. The Board is set up under the leadership of the Prime Minister with the ministers concerned in the Government of India, ministers in charge of child welfare in the States and representatives of voluntary organisations as members. The purpose of this Board is to provide a forum for planning, review, and coordination of the various services directed towards children. However, since the Board has only recently been set up, it is yet to be seen how far it will help towards achieving a commonality of child welfare objectives and approaches in the country.

Another source of incoherence is the total lack of concerted action between governmental and non-governmental structures. Owing to the peculiar nature and popular appeal of child welfare, a plethora of voluntary agencies came

forward to operate in this field. There is to date no national inventory of their number, activities, coverage, financial involvement, organisation and other details. Nor is there a cohesive administrative plan which can meaningfully associate each of these agencies in the pursuit of common targets and objectives. Inevitably, therefore, there is much duplication and wastage arising from parallel organisational structures that these agencies have perpetuated—in terms of staffing, budgeting, manpower training, research, evaluation, etc.

Low Priority Given to Child Welfare

This is a problem generic to social welfare as a whole. Whatever the professed intentions of a government, it is a fact that social welfare figures less prominently in national priorities and even less at the time of budgetary allocations. Of the initially meagre allocations too, a portion gets inevitably chopped off owing to 'financial constraints', and some more is lost on account of 'lapsing'. Practically every budget if examined would uncover this chronic failure in the public budgeting system to honour the original budgetary provision for social, and particularly, child welfare.

Budgetary deficiency is deducible also from the absence of a growth path in the budgeted provisions for child welfare over given years. Take the example of the Central and Centrally sponsored schemes in child welfare. According to 'published statistics',¹ budgetary provision for family and child welfare project, for instance, dropped from Rs. 9.8 million in 1974-75 to Rs. 5.8 million in 1975-76 and to Rs. 4.4 million in 1976-77. Centrally sponsored child welfare schemes (covering ICDS, services for children, and special nutrition programme), over the same period, dropped from Rs. 67.3 million to Rs. 38 million and Rs. 22 million respectively. The decline in ICDS budgetary provision alone was more than 75 per cent between 1974-75 and 1976-77 (i.e., from Rs. 57.3 million to Rs. 13.0 million).

Take another example. In absolute terms, the combined Central and State outlays on social welfare rose from Rs. 40 million during the First Five Year Plan, to Rs. 190 m. (Second Plan), Rs. 312.6 m. (Third Plan), Rs. 134.8 m. (in the Annual Plans for 1966-67 and 1968-69), Rs. 929.4 m. (Fourth Plan) and Rs. 861.3 m. (in Fifth Plan). In relative terms, however, the share of social welfare *per se* in the total budgeted outlay for social services² has ranged from 0.2 per cent in the First Plan, to 0.6 per cent (Second Plan), 0.4 per cent (Third Plan), and 0.6 per cent in the Fourth Plan (Social services as a whole comprised 22.4 per cent of the total public sector plan outlay in the First Plan, and

¹*Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics*, 1976, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi.

²Inclusive of Education, health, family planning, housing and urban development, water supply and sanitation, social welfare, welfare of backward classes, labour welfare and rehabilitation.

declined gradually to 19.5, 17.3 and 16.1 per cent respectively in the Second, Third and Fourth Plan periods.

In the non-governmental sector too, insufficient financial support has been a common failing. There is no correlation discernible between budgetary growth, on the one hand, and programmatic development on the other. There has in fact been a striking gap observed between the rate at which non-governmental agencies have grown and the pace at which grants-in-aid to such organisations have been made available by the Government, or the rate at which the quantum of such aid has grown. All these financial instabilities have caused much uncertainty as well as vacillation in the practice of child welfare in India.

Lack of Services Matching the Level of Actual (Felt) Needs

Both in quantitative and qualitative terms, existing child welfare services in India are not reflective of either the magnitude or the type of needs actually felt at the level of the clientele. It is not relevant here to quote greater details except to state generally that whether in the case of social services, or social welfare, or child welfare *per se*, the coverage is dismally low. (Often, the number of beneficiaries runs into hundred thousands when the number of those in need of the service runs into millions. Per capita expenditure on child welfare services as well as per capita coverage of these services both operate well below even the minimum required).

Another factor contributing to inadequacy of services is the fact that there is a lack of realism in the choice of the services being rendered. Often, the design, content and structuring of a service is super imposed on a milieu which is neither receptive nor actually in need of it. There are enough examples to amplify this point. In education, reliance on a heavy, formalised educational system; in the health field, the adoption of a health-centre based and primarily curative medical approach; in social welfare, an undue reliance on institutionalisation rather than on community-based action, etc., are all telling illustrations of inappropriate methods being applied to meet an altogether different set of needs. Inevitably, this has also led to the creation of organisational structures to service the systems which are proving at times dysfunctional and at other times totally redundant.

Even where the service choice is appropriate, there is poor logistical planning. Here too, there are several examples in support. In the vaccine programme, for instance, inadequate storage and transportation arrangements have been known to negate the impact of the vaccine. In nutrition, likewise, many of the supplementary feeding programmes have floundered on account of lack of knowledge of local feeding habits and preferences of the beneficiary. Insufficient backing through information support of family planning activities has been known to have caused a principal breakdown in the credibility of the family planning programme. In education, science teaching and other teaching aids have been proven to be dysfunctional on account of unfamiliarity with

the equipment, and total absence of equipment servicing facilities. The same failing has undermined the success of the so-called mobile elements in the rural health, nutrition, social welfare, and other fields.

All these servicing gaps and deficiencies are obviously linked to the absence of an efficient organisational system or network which can automatically provide for realistic decision-making, appropriate programme choices, workable methods of implementing and delivering services, etc.

Lack of Access to Services

In the organisation of child welfare (as in other social sectors also), the inaccessibility of services is one of the weakest elements. This is owing to the fact that the entire range of services have been conceived vertically from the top down, with the metropolitan cities and areas serving as centres, and the successive administrative units, viz., divisions, districts, zillas, talukas, and finally, villages—serving as intermediate and peripheral levels. In almost all cases, the service tends to be fairly standardised at the apex, gradually diminishing in quality at the subsequent levels. Owing to the vastness of the geographical area to be covered, the physical remoteness and hence inaccessibility of certain intermediate and peripheral levels, and the absence of a well-organised system of feedback and monitoring, the extent to which a service or a programme gets diluted at the lower levels is not fully known. (In many cases, this process of dilution may, and has been known to, have led to schools supposedly functioning without actual child enrolment, teachers existing merely on paper, bloated numbers of beneficiaries of supplementary nutrition programmes, etc.)

Another factor contributing to service inaccessibility is the initial faulty approach in not viewing the service as a client or community-based activity. In other words, the underlying premises is that the client must come to the service, rather than the reverse. This puts the onus of service utilisation on the beneficiary rather than on the service functionary. (This is also where the prejudicial market forces come into play. As long as there is a customer, there will be service, and the more the capacity of the customer to purchase a service, the better the quality of service). Unfortunately, this conceptual difficulty in servicing the clientele has not been appreciated or reflected in the organisation of social services (including child welfare) in India. Mobility of services has thus remained an illusive pursuit leading to dismal and familiar phenomena such as under-utilisation of services or their total unavailability in some rural areas; over-concentration of services and resources in urban areas; etc.

Lack of Adequate Logistical Planning

This refers to a two-fold dysfunctionality in the existing organisation of child welfare in India. The first arises from a tendency to base programmes and services on aggregative rather than selective criteria. Thus, child welfare

(as is true of other social sectors too) has been viewed broadly in terms of rural and urban child, with the urban slum child serving as an additional category during the 1970s. These are too broad and misleading classifications and have not encouraged meaningful or realistic planning and programming in the field of child welfare. Fortunately, some consciousness of typologies has arisen during recent years that has led to specialised approaches and, in some cases, action aimed at the tribal child, the destitute child, the child from families with income below subsistence level, etc. On a piecemeal basis, some attention has also been given to children of migrant workers, landless labourers, construction workers, and children in drought-prone areas, etc. However, this positive trend has not been accompanied by supportive organisational or implementation strategies, or the development of a sound logistical system.

Efficient logistical planning requires a clear understanding of *what* has to be delivered, to *whom*, at *what point in time*, and then, the creation of requisite organisation and methods. Whatever the theoretical progress in pursuing child welfare typologies, it is clear that concrete organisational backing is missing in the Indian context. Not only are programmes and services conceived fairly uniformly, irrespective of the typological context, but there is very little concrete base (in terms of manpower training, placement delivery network, etc.) for specialised approaches to work.³

The other logistical problem is to fit mostly sophisticated objectives, methods, and content of child welfare approaches into a primarily unsophisticated environment. When, for a particular project, the country accepts imported equipment and supplies, including transportation, for running given services, what is the indigenous technical base made available for maintaining, servicing and deploying that equipment? What is the local ability to absorb such sophistication and to benefit from it? What is the likely damage that may be caused to the local milieu from application of alien value systems and operational methods? These are central issues which are not always posed before introducing a programme—but have been known to have caused serious programmatic anomalies. (Take a simple illustration: in the applied nutrition programme, for instance, one key objective was to help the needy population to consume as well as sell the nutritional produce they grew. Where it implied consuming eggs by a vegetarian population, the

³Coping with this aspect, however, requires some hard-hitting administrative decisions as well as bold decision-making at the political level. Take the case of formal schooling, for instance. If compulsory school enrolment has to be accepted for all children, where is the logistical base for bringing in the child of migrant and construction workers, etc., into the formal school system? Recognising this inherent contradiction, should the policy maker adopt a different educational goal for this particular group of child population, in which case, he risks, the charge of promoting dualism? Or should the formal school concept and curricula, etc., be so broadly conceived as to accommodate a basically transient student group?



programme ended up as a poor force at least in this one respect! As another simple illustration, take the impact of hard-sell advertising of artificial milk and baby foods on urban breast-feeding habits. It is only of late that the great merit of fairly prolonged breast-feeding is being promoted once again.

Lack of a Policy Perspective

One of the major weaknesses in the organisation of child welfare services in the past had been the lack of a policy perspective. Until 1974 when the national policy resolution was passed by Parliament, there were only segmented child welfare provisions featuring in individual health, education and other policy statements. Constitutional directives in respect of education, nutrition, employment, etc., were utilised as child welfare sanctions. Fortunately, with the 1974 policy resolution, there is a concrete national charter of children's entitlements which can help give the necessary policy perspective and framework within which to pursue child welfare activities, both in the governmental and the non-governmental sector.

Absence of Participatory Structures

Participatory structures are considered crucial to the success of any developmental ventures. In social welfare and child welfare particularly, these acquire special significance. Where the client's own contribution to, understanding of, and participation in the service is so much responsible for its success, it is necessary that organisational arrangements should be made available for close client-service interaction. Unfortunately, due to historical reasons, child welfare evolved as an activity undertaken by a well-meaning third party (either government or private body) for (and not with or by) the people. This has kept a certain remoteness between the services and the clientele. At the same time, it has made the benefits of individual schemes appear like piecemeal doles rather than intrinsic uplift of the beneficiary through self-reliant and participatory action.

ORGANISATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

In the light of the above analysis, we can now turn to a discussion and identification of organisational structures required to meet children's needs in the future. Organisational structures can be viewed in two ways. The first refers to various types of organisational entities and structures that are and can be associated with the planning, programming and delivery of child welfare services. The second refers to the organisational processes themselves which are employed in the delivery of child welfare services. Both aspects are essential elements in the successful planning and organisation of child welfare action. Given below is a brief review of the processes before going on to elaborate on the organisational structures.



Organisational Processes

A common acronym representing organisational processes in public administration is POSDCORB where

- P stands for Planning
- O for Organisation
- S for Staffing
- D for Directing
- CO for Coordination
- R for Reporting and
- B for Budgeting.

In social and child welfare, it is necessary to add another symbol—*viz.*, 'P', representing people's participation. For efficient programming, it is evident that all these eight elements be systematically developed, keeping in mind the requirements specific to child welfare in the future.

Planning: Planning relies on realistic data and projections regarding the target population (its socio-economic and demographic composition, its distribution, etc.); an estimation of its present and prospective needs; and an approximation of the type of service to be rendered, and in what manner, etc. As far as demographic data are concerned, there is sufficient and reliable base for the Indian planner to look ahead and plan intelligently. But there are two distinct additional inputs that will be required in order to make for realistic planning.

The first is to replace the existing top-down and primarily vertical planning style with a planning approach which percolates from the grassroots upwards, and simultaneously evolves horizontally. Some efforts in these twin directions have already been made in recent years. Some States in India, for instance, have introduced decentralised planning with the district serving as the emanating point of all plans. Inter-ministerial and inter-departmental committees are also already operating at the Centre and State levels to inject concerted programming, but these function mostly *post facto*, *i.e.*, after the planning of child welfare activities has been undertaken. The setting up of the National Children's Board should help overcome this gap. What needs to be done in order to enable the Board to perform this planning role is to specify methods and schedules whereby the Board's thinking will be available to the Planning Commission at the time when plans are being drafted or finalised, and allocations fixed.

For strengthening the 'ascending' processes in planning, decentralisation upto the district level will not be enough. It will be necessary to create government appointed bodies which can function year round and help plan and monitor child welfare action at all levels right down to the village. Such bodies should have a fair representation from government and non-governmental agencies, individual professionals, academicians, and field level



practitioners. Examples of such bodies are available in some of the States where the State committees for celebration of International Year of the Child (IYC) have been set up. These are responsible for planning priority programmes for needy children on a long-term basis. Free from bureaucratic pressures and hierarchical loyalties, some of these bodies have accomplished a major change in the orientation of the State's priorities in child welfare.⁴ Such bodies, although operating at the State level, should have correspondents (either individuals or agencies) at all the lower administrative levels, as well as arrangements for liaison with State and Central planning bodies.

The second input concerns the skilful deployment of demographic and other data towards realistic and efficient programming. As recent demographic studies of Indian children have revealed, there is no homogeneity in the Indian child population. Nor is the broad sweeping differentiation between the rural and the urban Indian child anything other than misleading. Between the States, for instance, there are wide disparities of the levels of life and of demographic indicators. Crude birth and death rates, infant and maternal mortality and morbidity, child/women ratios, etc., are all vastly different.⁵ It is desirable that these differences be appreciated and reflected when planning for child welfare. In many cases, where assessment of prevailing illnesses, ailments and physical and mental handicaps among children are beyond the reach of existing statistical records in the country, due primarily to a shortage of medical help in rural areas, it is necessary that the Planning Commission and relevant State and local bodies be entrusted with the task of surveying representative sample populations. The findings from such surveys could greatly help improve the basis for realistic and selective programming.

Organisation: This refers to a structural system which is clearly conceived and provides for distinct entities at all operational levels. Unfortunately, as stated earlier, child welfare as a field suffers from a legacy of non-organisation. Agencies and structures in child welfare have grown as the needs and the work grew. This has led to an array of agencies operating simultaneously, with or without any linkages or even a common perspective. This has seriously diluted their impact, as well as damaged the working environment. Moreover, multiplicity of agencies has not necessarily meant a broad or an even national coverage. Many of the agencies have chosen to focus on convenient clienteles

⁴In Maharashtra, for instance, the committee has succeeded in gearing the IYC budget towards services for children in villages with population below 500 (such villages form from 40 to 50 per cent of the total villages in the country), and for children in unorganised sectors of employment. It has also successfully evaded the traditional reliance on formalised, institutional approaches in favour of non-institutional action such as, sponsorship, foster care, etc.

⁵Child/women ratios, for instance, have been reported for 1971 as varying from 782 in Andhra Pradesh to 1192 in Assam. Are these differences on account of vital birth and death rate differentials or owing to inaccuracy and unreliability of vital statistics and of census, counts? See Prof. Kumudini Dandekar's "Demographic Status of the Indian Child" in *The Child in India*, Somaiya Publishers (forthcoming).



(primarily urban), and on less complex tasks. (Supplementary feeding rather than nutritional education, formal schooling rather than non-formal education and employment preparation; piecemeal curative action rather than preventive approaches including community education in public health and environmental hygiene; etc.).

Until the recent creation of the National Children's Board (with equivalent bodies in some States), at the national or State levels, no distinct governmental bodies actually existed which were responsible exclusively for child welfare. Several ministries, departments or directorates held charge of individual aspects of child welfare so that organisational coherence or unity was hardly possible. In the next few years this aspect should be systematically developed so that a proper organisational system is set up that can cope with the child welfare programmatic responsibilities. Such a system should obviously manifest itself from the highest to the lowest administrative levels. (Further details including a possible format proposed in the discussion later on organisational structures).

Staffing: Staffing refers to the entire process of manpower planning, training, placement and utilisation. Staffing is a key variable in child welfare where the worker has so much responsibility in shaping not only the success of the service but also the personality of the beneficiary. Efficient staffing depends upon reliable assessment of manpower needs. This, in turn, demands an identification of the target population, and the nature of services to be provided, alongwith a general relationship between target populations and the nature of level of activity. In addition, at the micro level, manpower demand needs to be assessed in relation to the structure of organisations dealing with the services, occupations, specialities and skill-composition operative in the organisations and in the overall field of child welfare, and desirable norms of staffing. Based on these, realistic manpower planning, training and utilisation strategies can be worked out.

Unfortunately, owing to the primarily informal set-up of child welfare, and the fact that it has not evolved as a full-fledged professional discipline (not only in India but elsewhere), staffing in this field has not received any serious treatment at the hand of development planners. Another ramification of the above mentioned evolution has been the absence of sufficient professional manpower to cover the needs of child welfare. Manpower planning in child welfare, therefore, must need to include provision for para-professionals, volunteers and the families themselves. This is especially true in respect of the future when child welfare programmes are expected to be mounted on a much more comprehensive scale.

The composite nature of child welfare will need to be borne in mind when developing activities, as also, the need for creating a 'mix' of general with specialised skills. Both these aspects have been largely ignored in the past and existing training activities in the country. For the future, particularly to support the application of the Integrated Child Development



Scheme (ICDS) on a countrywide basis, the task of gearing training to the composite nature of child welfare will become unavoidable and crucial. Alongwith training, manpower placement will need to take into account that both the skill and deployment of personnel are appropriate to the task which is expected to be performed. It has been a common failing in the past (not only in child welfare but in other social sectors as well) that personnel have proven to be dysfunctional on account of being ill-matched to their immediate occupational requirements and milieu. This type of manpower wastage will to be avoided at all costs when planning for future.

Because of the physical impossibility of reaching all needy children with a minimum level of staff and services, it will also be necessary to include provisions for training and education of parents in the basics of child welfare with a view to upgrading the level of parental competence. For this purpose, arrangements will need to be made to create a pool of community educators and supportive facilities.

Directing: This refers to the process of development of an organisation to meet its given objectives. It involves management and guidance of the organisational network along a well-charted path, course corrective mechanisms en route, and a constant, vigilant alignment of agency procedures with close-range targets and long-range objectives. In more sophisticated settings, direction can help evolve and implement the most efficacious and least costly method of serving a clientele. Such a level of functioning, however, is an illusion in the Indian child welfare scene where the unknown variables are plentiful. However, directing at a less sophisticated level can certainly seek to minimise wasteful and fanciful pursuits in child welfare, at the same time allowing organisational networks and programme objectives to be aligned more closely to prevailing Indian realities. Directing also encompasses introducing arrangements for optimising the benefits from given programmatic inputs. This implies taking into account the synergistic effect of inter-sectoral and inter-age group approaches in child welfare. It is evident that if the ambitious tasks envisaged here are to be carried out, directing as an element and function of organisation will need to be refined and polished.

Coordination: This is basic to the success of any activity, but it has even more central significance in child welfare where the totality and unity of the child as a beneficiary can only be protected and nurtured if the various sectoral and age-group activities operate in a complementary and mutually reinforcing way. This requires reaching the *same* child with a *composite* service (which encompasses health, nutrition, education, welfare, etc.) through *all* the stages of its growth process (starting from pre-natal age to adolescence). This can work only if there is capacity in the existing system to service the needy child, in all areas of its need. If that capacity, and, therefore, the corresponding infrastructure, is missing, coordination can only remain a vision or a myth. One of the commonly observed fallacies in the organisation of child welfare in our country has been this unilateral call for coordination.



Obviously, coordination can take place only when there are units in existence that can come together to coordinate. Similarly, in order to coordinate, there should be a coordinating body. With the creation of the Children's Board, at least this organisational lacuna or anomaly has been rectified. It is now imperative that this Board be equipped with adequate powers to enforce coordination among the various agencies engaged in child welfare. Likewise, it should also have some administrative fiat to compel various levels in the administrative hierarchy to coalesce and work in harmony.

Reporting: Reporting is primarily a programme intelligence activity. It implies adequate arrangements for reliable monitoring, reporting and feedback on the performance of the organisation, and of the programmes, in relation to the stated objectives of both the organisation and the programme activity. It also involves a restructuring of agency and programme objectives in the light of continued assessment of ever-changing needs. Reporting thus encompasses research and evaluation, and meaningful feedback of the findings of both, in the further refinement of the organisational process. In that sense, this is an important element contributing to a sense of dynamism in the organisation. Since the child is not a static but a growing organism, child welfare activities too are compelled not to be static but dynamic, in which process, reporting has a key role to play. For ideal results in reporting, it is desirable that agency and programme objectives be clear cut, and the programme evaluation and review techniques be carefully developed. (In some other sectors of activity, PERT and other reporting systems have been fairly well developed. Some of these, such as, cost-benefit approach, are also being applied to the social sectors, viz., health, education, etc., To what extent these can be applied to the child welfare sector is still to be seen). Unfortunately, so far, both research and evaluation in child welfare have received only minimal and piecemeal attention. Reporting *per se*, is also viewed as a routine type of formal recording of progress to-date, rather than as a tool contributing to intelligent programming. A common failing of reporting in child welfare in India is the fact that it concentrates on functional rather than substantive (or quantitative as against qualitative) aspects. Thus, programme reports are compiled on the basis of the number of units set up and aided, rather than the number of beneficiaries reached and their proportion to the total required to be reached. Such qualitative information is available only in selected research evaluation studies undertaken by the government or a voluntary agency or an academic department. In this case, the problem is one of accessibility to the findings. To date, there is no national inventory of the research and evaluative studies undertaken in the field of child welfare. Nor is there a centralised recording system to keep track of on-going, prospective and completed research. Individual listings are available from different central agencies sponsoring child welfare research and investigation (such as, from the Government of India, Planning Commission, Department of Social Welfare, Social Welfare Board, ICSSR, National Institute of Public Cooperation and



Child Development, etc.) But due to poor recording systems, even where reports are known to have been undertaken their findings may not be available.

Furthermore, in the absence of a specific national inventory of reporting needs or of reporting work undertaken, there is no way to avoid overlapping and duplication. Also, there are the inevitable inter-agency suspicions to freely share available findings, further restricting the use of intelligent information on the broadest possible scale.

Yet, for meaningful programming, it is essential that this disparate tendency be discouraged. Alongside, it is necessary to assign to one agency the task of compiling a national inventory and network of reporting, feedback, and dissemination. This will eliminate duplication as well as discourage individual bureaucracies to hold on to the intelligence they possess. Since reporting is closely linked to planning, it is necessary that such a body should operate under the direction of the Planning Commission. There is also an urgent need for evolving criteria for qualitative⁶ (as against quantitative) reporting in child welfare activities.

Budgeting: Budgeting is a tricky function. It can either make or mar a programme. Intelligent budgeting requires a planned and calculated look ahead based on a carefully viewed and digested experience of the past. Efficient budgeting can itself lay out the parameters for efficacious programming. Budgeting, ideally, should be in relation to the projected growth path of a service. But in practice, what is most commonly resorted to in child welfare is an incremental type of budgeting. Most estimates are drawn on the basis of the previous year's allocation plus some per cent.

Owing to overall budgetary constraints, budgeting in social and child welfare, particularly, is a grim and pessimistic exercise. Budgetary requests are deliberately bloated knowing fully well that child welfare being the least favoured sector, they will face automatic pruning, plus further cuts in case of unforeseen fiscal shortages. Notwithstanding this meagreness in approach, the child welfare sector (alongwith social welfare as a whole) has been frequently accused of under-utilisation of the allocated amount. This is a serious fault which needs to be weeded out totally. Where the budgetary needs are so much greater than what is allocated, there is no justification at all for under-utilisation of the allocated amount. This is one area in which much greater efficiency and greater absorptive capacity will need to be built up in the course of programming for child welfare.

People's Participation: This is a crucial variable in the success of any

⁶Qualitative reporting would include, for example, not only the number of children fed under a nutrition programme, but the extent to which their nutritional status improved. Likewise, in case of the vaccination programme, the data would indicate not only the extent of immunisation but the extent to which the incidence of the disease was lowered. In education, school enrolment data would be recording not only enrolment, but also retention at the end of the year, etc.

organisation dealing with people's wellbeing. In case of child welfare especially, this element takes on even greater urgency and relevance. In this field, with chronic shortage of physical, material and manpower resources, the family has often to become the principal programme functionary at the ultimate delivery stage. In other words, the people become the service. In such a case, their involvement, orientation, briefing and participation in the planning, running, and utilisation of the service becomes a crucial organisational input. Yet, this aspect has not been sufficiently reflected in existing child welfare approaches in the country. This is notwithstanding the early origins of this welfare in India being located in public and voluntary action. Except for individual, rare experiments, the main chunk of child welfare activity has functioned in India without the involvement of the family as a composite beneficiary unit. In the absence of such participation and involvement, the impact and reception of child welfare interventions have been minimal. It is now recognised that failure in school retention, or lapses in child health occur on account precisely of parental competence being left outside the purview of the existing child welfare activities. These linkages between adult involvement and better utilisation and success ratios of child welfare services are only recently being appreciated. This is a healthy trend which will need to be carried further on a much more expanded scale.

Apart from families, people's participation also refers to the involvement of volunteers and of voluntary agencies in carrying out child welfare objectives and activities in the country. This is an important supplementary source to governmental action in this field. Fortunately, the Central Government showed early recognition of this when it set up the Social Welfare Board with the specific task of encouraging and coordinating the non-governmental sector's involvement in the field of social welfare. Even here, the grant-in-aid and other procedures adopted by the Board over two decades ago need to be carefully examined and renovated wherever possible in order to accommodate fresh realities and requisites of the non-governmental scene in social and child welfare. Finally, fresh participatory structures have to be designed in order to involve people in decision-making and implementation processes in child welfare. In this context, creation of citizen's committees for child welfare at all administrative levels may be one possibility. (Such an experiment is already being tried with some success in connection with the celebration of IYC in Maharashtra, for instance.)

Finally, people's participation also encompasses mobilising additional material resources. This has recently been attempted through the creation of a special child welfare fund to which tax-free donations are permitted. Additionally, industry, as a sector, can represent a powerful supplementary resource for child welfare in India. As pressures for environmental and social responsibility of business have risen, industry has been persuaded to come forward to participate in social development. This trend should be widely tapped and successfully deployed in improving the technical quality and



material base of child welfare activity in the country.

From processes, we can finally move on to delineating the organisational structures themselves.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

Organisational Structure as a term refers to the physical as well as the qualitative elements in an organisation. The physical framework of an organisation consists of its constitution, functional scope or terms of reference and the POSDCORB elements reviewed above. In addition, an organisation may be viewed in qualitative terms, *viz.*, its system of division of responsibility, decentralisation of authority, mode of decision-making, organisational flexibility, etc. The latter set of indicators help identify the basic model of an organisation, *viz.*, whether it is monolithic or participative and pluralistic or whether it is bureaucratic or transbureaucratic. (The last is also referred to as organismic.)

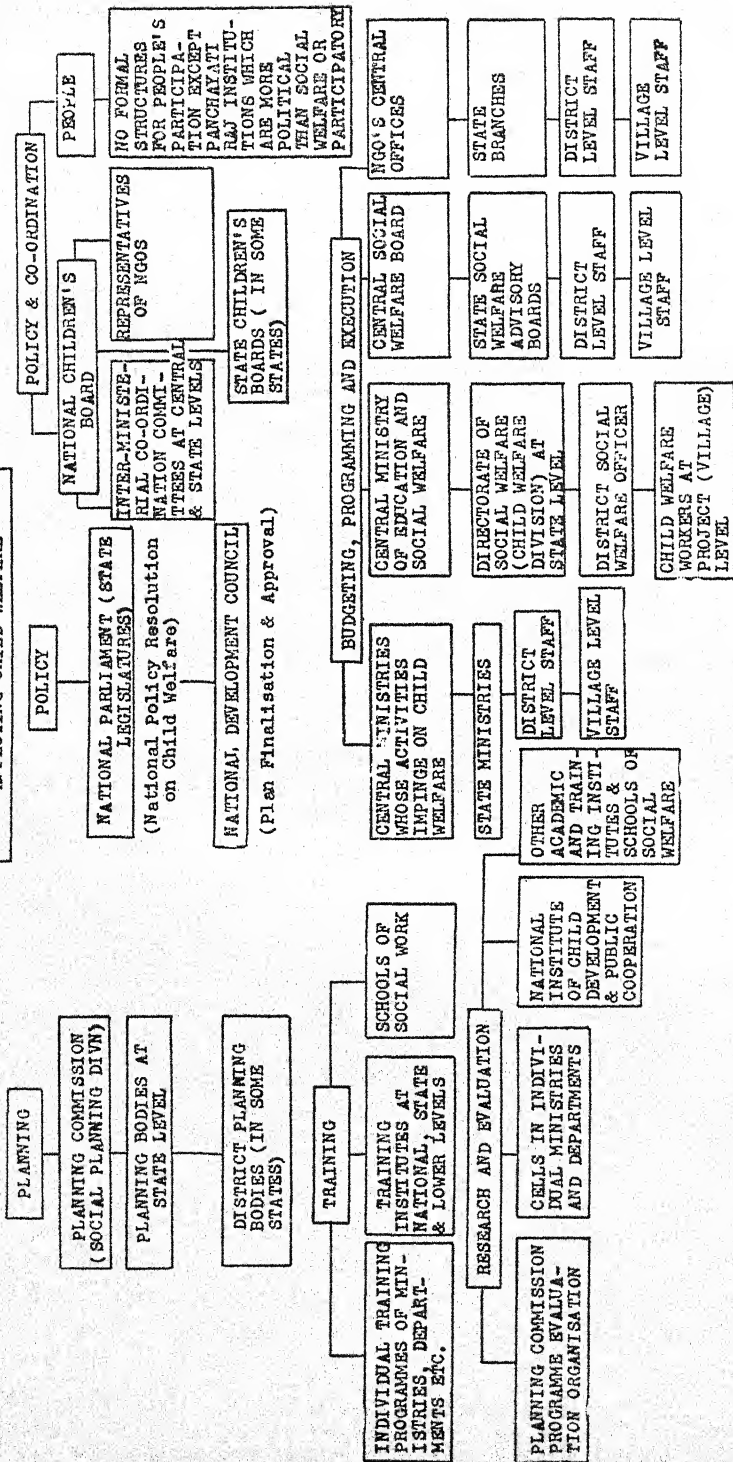
The bureaucratic model is the more conventional and also the more dominant model. It has been operative in private and public sector in both developed and developing countries. This type of agency operates by a given set of rules and there is a hierarchical organisation of offices. This model relies heavily on the higher echelons [on the (questionable) assumption that both power and knowledge exist at the top]. This makes the agency an elitist and a stifling operation. Thus arises the need for an alternative or the transbureaucratic model. Here, decision-making is an open process and staffing is also drawn from a heterogeneous base, yet preserving the level of competence and skill, and increasing its variety. In this model, the emphasis is more on the way in which individual tasks contribute to the whole and upon the development of patterns of control and communication which increase people's effectiveness in carrying out the tasks.⁷

It is evident that although the latter model is most appropriate to the social welfare field generally, as well as to child welfare, the former model represents the stereotype of organisational structures that have hitherto obtained in India. An unfortunate fact is that bureaucratic structuring has not only found consistent support in government but also in the non-governmental sector. As voluntary agencies have grown in size, budgets, and involvements, they have inevitably developed into large bureaucracies, often sacrificing their initial strength arising from their openness and flexibility.

Owing to heavy reliance on the bureaucratic mode of organisation, participatory structures enabling people to participate in social as well as child welfare have barely developed.

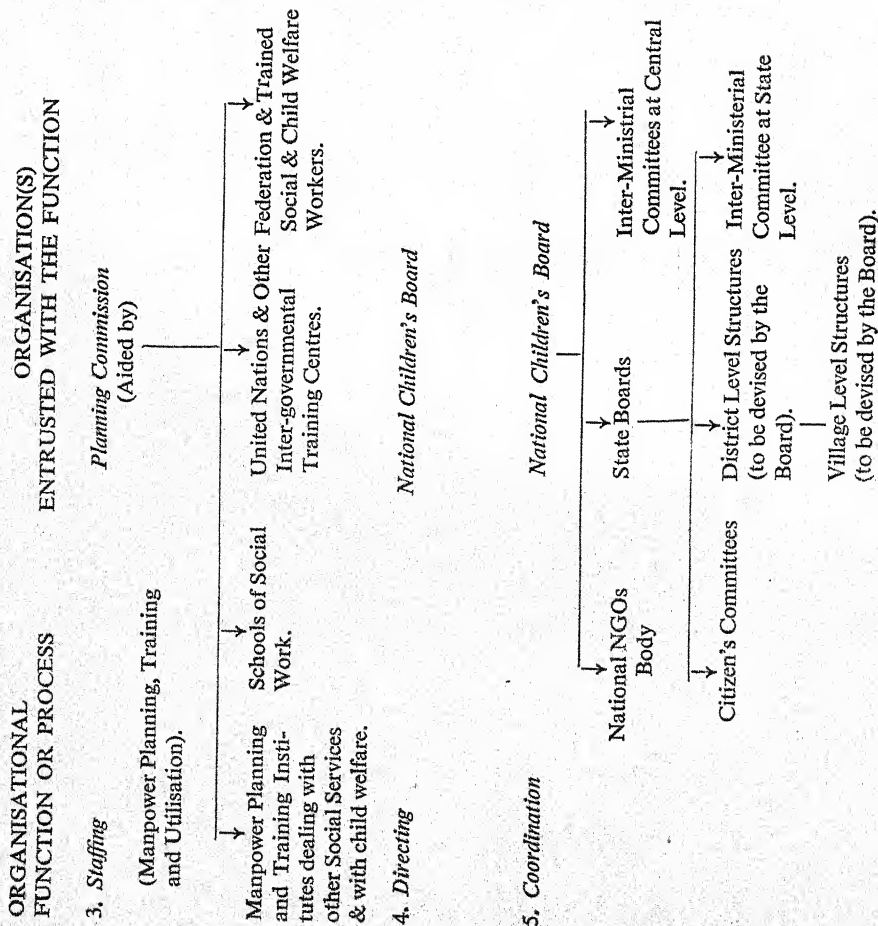
⁷For further discussion of these two models, see Eric Trist, "Management and Organisation Development in Government Agencies and Public Enterprises" in United Nations Document No. St/TAO/M/52/Add, 2, pp. 1-15.

ORGANIGRAM OF EXISTING STRUCTURES AFFECTING CHILD WELFARE



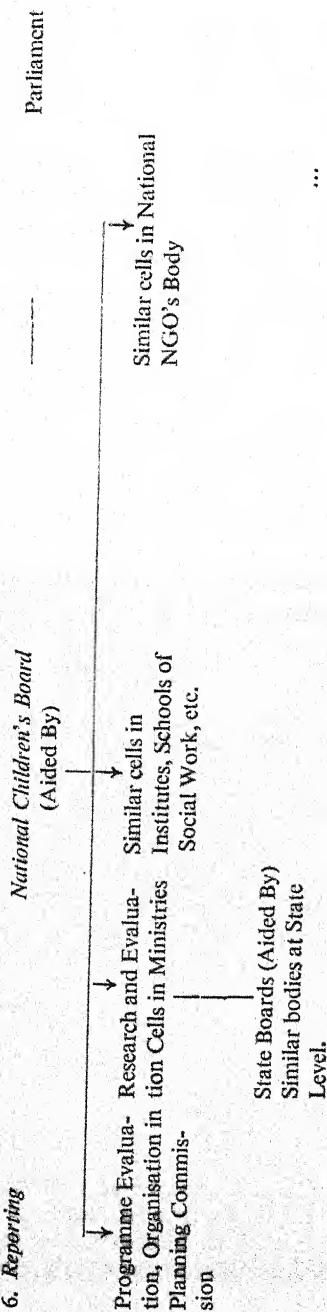
PROPOSED RESTRUCTURED FOR MAT

ORGANISATIONAL FUNCTION OR PROCESS	ORGANISATION(S) ENTRUSTED WITH THE FUNCTION	COORDINATION (WITH)	ACCOUNTABILITY (TO)
1. Planning			
Central Ministries dealing with child welfare	<i>Planning Commission</i> (Aided By) <div> ↓ National Children's Board ↓ State Boards ↓ Citizen's Committees at City and District Levels </div>	—	Parliament
State Ministries			
State, District, Metropolitan and Municipal Planning structures			
Central Social Welfare Board			
State Boards			
		National Institute for Child Development and Public Cooperation dealing with child welfare. Key National Regional and State Institutes dealing with child welfare or with social sectors bearing on child welfare (such as NIHAE, Delhi; Nutrition Institute, Hyderabad; Institute for Demographic Study; Institute for Pre-school Education, etc.)	National Body representing all NGOs dealing with child welfare.
2. Organisation			
	<i>National Children's Board</i> ↓ State Boards ↓ Citizen's Committees at City and District Levels ↓ Body representing child welfare workers	Union Ministries, Central Social Welfare Board & National Body of NGO's Similar State level Structures	Parliament

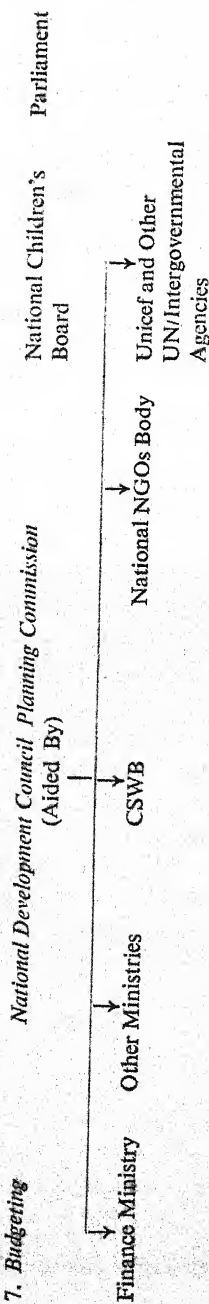




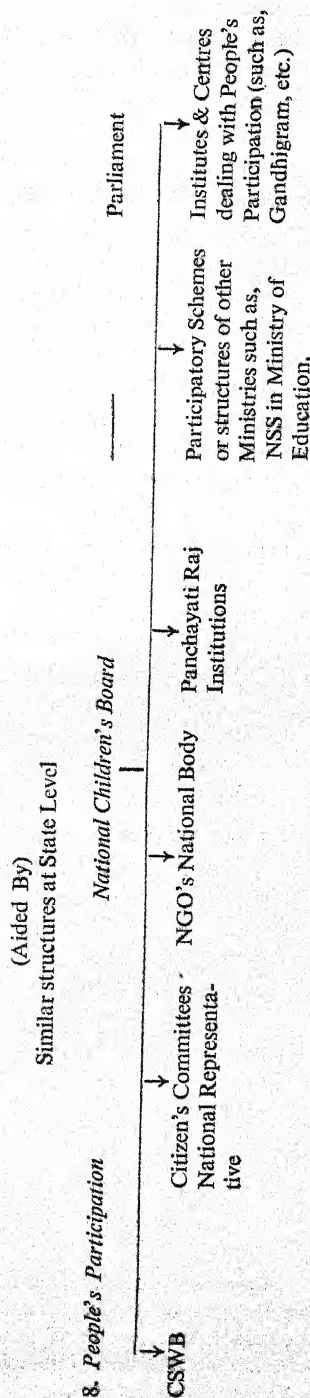
6. Reporting



7. Budgeting



8. People's Participation



In planning for the future, it is imperative that this bureaucratic bias in existing structures be drastically altered. Is that possible, and if so, how?

Currently, the organigram in child welfare is somewhat like that on page 54.

As is evident from the organigram, and from the earlier discussion, there are very few formal linkages between various organisational functions or processes. Similarly, formal mechanisms of coordination (horizontal) and accountability (vertical) are also lacking among various types and levels of organisations dealing with child welfare. In that sense, the present organisational structures do not qualify as a 'system'. Lastly, there is no institutional provision for the three resources, *viz.*, governmental, non-governmental, and people to liaise, cooperate and, wherever necessary, converge.

Assuming that the existing structure is time-honoured and tested, and therefore highly resistant to any radical⁸ organisational change, it is possible only to propose minor adjustments, amendments and additions. It is equally true that the existing bureaucratic model must also prevail, but perhaps some mechanisms can be devised so as to make for greater participation by the community and by the professional from outside the government bureaucracy. Coordination, reporting and accountability among various organisational processes and entities can likewise be strengthened by indicating formal channels. Keeping these considerations in view, a re-structured format for the child welfare organisational set-up in India is proposed (pp. 55-57). This should be treated as purely indicative and suggestive.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it must be conceded that any effort to reorganise existing structures so as to have greater functional efficiency can only be attempted with great care and caution, and after careful study of all the procedural and programmatic ramifications. Equally, what needs to be acknowledged as hard core reality is that existing structures are deficient and in need of organisational overhaul. Unless this is undertaken, child welfare objectives and pursuits will remain at best platitudes and, at worst, a mockery.



⁸Radical measures would refer to, for instance, dismantling the present functional set-up of government ministries and their replacement by ministries focussing on age-groups and vulnerable socio-economic groups. That would mean organisational fragmenting of the country's population (into ministries for women, children, aged, handicapped, youth, scheduled castes, tribals, etc.)

Administration on Child Welfare Services in India

S.D. Gokhale

CHILD WELFARE as one understands today is a nebulous concept. It includes health services such as pre-natal, post-natal care, immunisation, food, housing. It also includes educational services such as pre-primary school, primary school and a host of other subjects such as science education, decentralisation of education, etc. It also implements in the field of welfare which includes services for normal children such as recreation, day care centres, creche and at the same time includes services for special groups such as destitute children, delinquent children, handicapped children, orphans, etc. The concept of child welfare cannot be reviewed without thinking of child welfare policy, legislation for children, legislation regarding child labour, administrative machinery and the service delivery systems.

Though the subject of child welfare is serviced by various departments such as health, social welfare, education, home, etc., at the federal level, we may find a similar fragmentation at the State level. In addition to these implementing agencies, governmental agencies such as the Planning Commission and the quasi-government agencies such as the Central Social Welfare Board and zilla parishads are involved in implementation and administration of child welfare. In addition, non-governmental organisations such as the Indian Council of Child Welfare, the Indian Council of Social Welfare, etc., are also involved in the programmes as well as the implementing of child welfare services.

Before we consider this subject further it may be appropriate to identify the critical areas of child welfare.

THE CONTEXT OF POVERTY

This is a factor that emerges again and again in the analyses of individual authors. It is a poverty of means in relation to wants, which is more than an economic poverty, a poverty related to services, to infrastructure, and to opportunities. This sort of poverty is not necessarily overcome or confronted with improved GNP and per capita income, and requires deliberate measures. An otherwise rich country with impressive indicators of economic performance may still know this poverty of services or opportunities (there are several examples of such countries in the Asian region and elsewhere).

Conversely, a country that is economically poor may be rich in the sense of being endowed with a basic infrastructure of social services. This type of poverty provides the primary context of child welfare measures in India. Here, apart from straightforward economic destitution, there is deprivation caused through a lack of availability and insufficiency of social services. In countries such as ours, even if income levels and purchasing power were grossly upgraded for rural and for urban populations, it may still be quite a while before the availability of services can be actually assured to all sections of the population. And even that availability cannot come by automatically. It requires specific preparatory steps. This, in our opinion, constitutes the major credibility gap in the current and prospective thinking on child welfare in this country. Whereas we are constantly engaged in debating and refining the methodology of increasing GNP/GDP and of reducing economic poverty, we have not sought to formulate similarly a methodology or a strategy for reducing social poverty of services and of opportunity.

Before we are accused of mouthing vague generalities, let us give an illustration. We can project a certain rate at which manpower training and development must take place in order for that manpower to run the services required at a certain projected point in time. But unless we initiate requisite policy steps to ensure the placement of such manpower evenly across the country, we can only end up with greater concentration of such manpower in the urban areas where a ready purchasing power exists. Thus whatever manpower planning and development is undertaken, the effect of that gets largely diluted in response to market forces. The net result, as in the medical field, is that 'development' continues to cater to isolated pockets of affluence, ignoring the needs of the infinitely vaster deprived population. This is an example of a lack of realisation (or a credibility gap) of one type. The other type is purely economic with which Panchamukhi has dealt at length in his article. Through his analysis he reveals the virtual absence¹ of an 'economics of child development' because of which, allocations are made without sufficient scientific basis. In his view, it would be necessary to develop, first, an analytical framework of child development policy, and, second, systematic thinking about the economic aspects of child development. This would imply coping with such specifics as the optimum supply of child welfare services, the amount to be spent thereon, and who should meet the cost of its provision, etc. Unfortunately, as the author demonstrates, there is no realistic resource base for reaching the needy children in our present or projected context. After giving the estimated resource requirements in the fields of health, nutrition and education, he concludes rather predictably, that "it would be unrealistic to assume that all the required welfare and developmental services

¹To quote him, "If the psychology of the child is young, the economics of the child is younger still."



can be supplied to Indian children² in the near future”.

DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURE

This brings us to the second important factor determining the status of child welfare in India which is the demographic pressure. Pressures of demography can be many-fold. Apart from absolute increases, there can be serious disharmonies arising from unnatural bulges of individual age groups in a population. These factors cumulatively account for adverse dependency ratios and a much larger fertility base, thus placing further strains on a society and its economy. That India is deeply submerged with those negative demographic pressures is too well appreciated to deserve a discussion here. But there are two ramifications of the demographic path on which India is helplessly (shall we say hopelessly?) treading on which we would like to dwell briefly. Firstly, the large fertility base and its implications are not being sufficiently appreciated and reflected in the family welfare and health measures. The fertility rate, as it is known, is closely linked with the infant death rate. In India, although remarkable progress has been recorded in the downward trend of infant mortality from the high level of 183 per thousand live births in 1941-50 to 122 in 1971, much yet remains to be done. According to a WHO estimate, unless infant mortality is reduced to 75 per thousand, it would not be possible to control fertility. The causes for high infant mortality are difficult to spell out or overcome but in general it has been observed that neo-natal deaths are primarily due to pre-natal and post-influences such as immaturity, birth injuries, congenital malformations, etc. On the other hand, as UNICEF has suggested:

Children who survive the first month of life but die before they complete one year, usually succumb to post-natal influences such as the various epidemic diseases, diseases of respiratory system, faulty feeding and environmental factors. Thus deaths in the second to twelfth months are largely attributed to preventable causes, *i.e.*, factors associated with environmental conditions.³

Infant mortality is, therefore, largely a non-institutionalised phenomenon. Yet much of health care in India has concentrated on non-perambulatory and

²According to Panchamukhi, the total number of children covered under one or many of the child welfare and development services was 230 million in 1972, expected to go to 270 million in 1981 and 370 million in 2000 (according to high projection or an increase of nearly 60 per cent in the course of 30 years. To this, if mothers in need of services are added (as per medium projection) 55 per cent of the total population in 2001 would become eligible for various welfare services.

³UNICEF, *Statistical Profile of Children and Youth in India*, New Delhi, November, 1977, p. 11.

institutional approaches with the onus of health care lying on a medical centre and a medical doctor. In the existing system, the entire health service programme is pivoted around metropolitan and capital cities serving as centres, with the coverage of rural areas being attempted through intermediate institutions such as regional and district hospitals and primary health centres and sub-centre. The coverage and quality of health thus rendered is at its best in the centres, gradually diminishing in intensity at the intermediate levels and substantially failing at the lower of the peripheral levels. In any case, the nature of health care, howsoever meagre and feasible through such a delivery network, has only been curative. This has not permitted a major dent to be made, among others, on infant mortality.

As higher infant mortality has been a prime inducement for producing more children, family planning has been an important element in the country's health policy. In the absence of assured survival of infants, Indian parents have been reluctant to accept the low birth profile. By one estimate, at any time in the country, there are five million expectant mothers in the last trimester given a bulky fertility base. It is evident that a much more vigorous informative and motivational campaign has to be mounted in order to prepare the present and prospective parents for their reproductive role. Simultaneously, measures preventive of infant mortality must reach the same clientele in order to converge and have a mutually reinforcing effect. This endeavour for convergence of the twin strands of a comprehensive population policy is not still evident in the country's health policy and measures. In the absence of this and of the requisite programmatic infrastructure, it is difficult to see to what extent there is a realistic base for achieving a reduction in the birth rate from an estimated 30 per thousand in 1979 to 25 per thousand by 1984. The impact of the recently proclaimed family welfare approach has yet to be seen and assessed. Whether it is merely the old family planning intervention dressed out in a new garb or it is actually a substantive departure from the previous compartmentalised and isolated approaches is difficult to say at this early stage. It is clear, however, that any convergence in order to be effectively implemented would have to be both programmatic and structural (the latter referring to manpower and physical infrastructure of the health service).

Apart from health, the pressures of demography bear heavily on the socio-economic life of a nation. A large base of fertility, a high population growth rate, etc., all lead to a large number of new entrants into the labour market, and prior to that into schools and educational institutions. Increasing numbers also bring along corresponding numbers of new claimants or clients of social welfare as well as nutritional and other services. The pressure of rising demands from these younger segments in the population places unprecedented strain on the socio-economic services available or likely to be available. That leads to shortfalls of services and resources (both material and human) and causes a crisis of frustrated aspirations, in turn constituting a



threat to the stability of a society. While this chain reaction is observed, perhaps even comprehended, and routinely talked of, it is a matter of some doubt whether its policy and action implications have been sufficiently concretised. In other words, just as the social implications of the context of poverty have remained on the periphery of the planners and the policy-makers' consciousness in India, we feel that, similarly, the social ramifications of the demographic process have either eluded or been ignored by the development planner.

CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS AND CONSTRAINTS

Apart from a poverty of means, the field of child welfare suffers also from a poverty of conceptual clarity and coherence. Conceptual problems arise from ambiguities of ideas, of terms, and objectives. In child welfare, for instance, the terminological pendulum has swung uncertainly between child welfare and child development but the transition, whatever it is on the conceptual plane, has not touched the programmes. Another concept, with difficult translatability, is that of integration or an integrated service. In many child welfare forums, the point has often been made as to how to integrate and what. The latter query is not meant to be facetious since there is some pith in the contention that in order for integration to take place, there must be entities or activities to integrate.

It is here that we run into a basic conceptual problem. This concerns the identification of a single authority with which responsibility rests for planning, programming and monitoring of the child welfare field. At present, child welfare stands dispersed and fragmented amongst multiple organisational structures and bureaucracies. While there has been a consistent call for coordination among these, there has been little effort to spell out who should coordinate when, and how that coordination should take place. UNICEF, led by its sister agencies, has held the firm view that no separate plan for children is warranted. The reasoning is that this would mean isolating the child from the adult, and in the bargain, hurting it vis-a-vis allocation of resources, particularly since the child would immediately be downgraded as a less vocal, less articulate and, therefore, less urgent priority. Also, it would form a bad precedent, and could encourage other groups in the population such as the youth, the aged, the women, the handicapped, etc., to each demand a separate plan. Yet, within the plan, admittedly much more needs to be done to place child welfare on a surer footing. How to ensure this? One recommendation among others calls for a specialised planning agency for children⁴ and for wider participation in the planning process by subject specialists.

Another useful suggestion is to have a series of micro plans (with

⁴The difference between separate planning and a separate body specialising in planning for children is one that needs to be carefully noted and appreciated.

area-based and grassroots type of planning ingredients) that can provide a pieceby-piece montage of child welfare problems and status, rather than the generally misleading aggregative national plan.

Closely related to planning is the suggestion to have a clearly formulated national policy on children which can provide a useful framework within which to pursue the various child welfare activities and interventions. Such a policy declaration not only grants the necessary moral backing and sanction to child welfare endeavours in a country, but also helps evoke better material support from governmental budgeting for child welfare.

The extent to which law itself can serve as the agent of social change is a debatable proposition. But what is beyond dispute is the fact that law defines the parameters of programming, and that, without a progressive legislation, it is difficult to conceive of dynamic programming. Conceptual advances in the philosophy of child welfare, regrettably, have not found their reflection in legislation, with the result that the laws regulating child welfare continue to be archaic, even *passee*.⁵ The major anomaly in current child welfare legislation in this country and in the region is that it is not current. Many of the legislations governing this field are carry-overs from colonial times. They are also limited in scope, being rooted more in the 'correctional' than in 'developmental' orientation. Nowhere is this archaicism more evident and harmful than in the field of social defence. In many countries, Children's Acts seek to equate the destitute child with the delinquent. This stigmatises the normal child, on the one hand, and also affects per capita disbursement of facilities for the delinquent child by unnecessarily crowding the juvenile justice system with non-delinquency cases.

There is also an unnatural reliance on institutionalisation rather than on community-based and non-institutional approaches, notwithstanding the demonstrated and widely shared findings of several studies here and elsewhere, that, beyond a point, institutionalisation has only diminishing returns.

Happily, there is some enlightened appreciation in recent years regarding the limitations in excessive reliance on law as being the panacea for social ills. On the contrary, it is gradually being conceded that law can only provide the framework for and the legitimacy of child welfare action. In order for action to take place, not only have the enforcement mechanisms to be strengthened but also massive resources have to be raised to help carry out the legal mandates.

MANPOWER TRAINING AND UTILISATION

Manpower training and utilisation remains one of the weakest elements

⁵This fact was amply brought out in a study of Juvenile Justice System in India undertaken by the author and Mrs. N.K. Sohoni jointly on behalf of UNSDRI, Rome. See UNSDRI, *Juvenile Justice*. An International Survey Publication No. 12, Rome, February 1976, pp. 15-44.

in the organisation of child welfare. In its previous regional conference convened by the ICSW at Teheran this aspect had served as the theme of the conference. The deliberations there amply demonstrated the existing deficiencies in social welfare manpower approaches in the region. Among others, it is felt that there is clear-cut imbalance between the available trained personnel and positions to be manned. This has slowly led to the healthier practice of utilising less sophisticated, but more need-specific personnel. In public health, for instance, there is a definite move towards using barefoot doctors, community health workers, para-professionals and volunteer workers. Similarly, in child welfare also, the trend seems to be towards more and more utilisation of social work aides, para-professions and volunteers.

Another unfavourable practice was in the field of manpower training, where training for child welfare was offered in a segmented, compartmentalised manner (along health, nutrition, education, rehabilitation, etc.). The personnel, manning each of these sectors, were likewise treated as isolated specialists. Now, following the experience elsewhere, countries closer by too are generally moving in the direction of multi-disciplinary training and manning in which doctors, social workers, psychologists, teachers, etc., seem to make up a team for child development.

OVERVIEW OF CURRENT SITUATION

Notwithstanding some small positive beginnings in the various fields influencing child welfare, as reviewed above, it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that, by and large, the situation of children, at least in the developing countries of Asia and Pacific, appears to be bleak. In the words of an ESCAP assessment:

It is a mixture of economic under-development and stagnation, rapid population growth, administrative stratification and defective centralized planning. There are also mutually causative factors which are deleterious in nature to which little thought is given in planning development. Children are exposed most to nutritive disadvantages resulting in debilities. The spread of school education among children and youth has led to rising expectations and the inability of the administration to respond to these expectations has resulted in frustration. A low rate of development and economic stagnation along with a high rate of population increase, resulting in increased unemployment and under-employment, have created political instability in many developing countries. Many of such negative interactions are the result of early fragmented development efforts. Integrated development is suggested as a solution, but integration is a process which takes time to develop.

Administrative rigidity and centralised planning are other factors that



come in the way of development of programmes for children. Most of the administration in developing countries is so constituted that the system is unrelated to the needs of the vulnerable groups, including children and subsistence families. The programmes remain counter-productive and, at best, confer a few peripheral benefits. Although programmes of nutrition, maternal and child health, education and welfare are no doubt directed to the development of the child, their content as well as coverage remain marginal, especially for the low-income group of families that need them the most. Many a time these are meant to maintain a public image of administration through a token measure....

This leads to the requirements of a radical restructuring of national systems instead of gradual reform. How could more equitable distribution of the fruits of development be ensured among children of subsistence families?

Only recently, participation of people in policy-making, planning, development (is) conceived as a solution. Even 'conflict confrontation' without violence has been suggested as a measure for stimulating participation of people in development and for forcing the hands of administration. It is assumed that the participatory approach would emphasize the need for the individual to develop the ability to analyse his own situation in the community and to take action to attain self-defined goals.⁶

Such a solution may be valid for adults. But for children, it is not. Since they are young, inarticulate and vulnerable, it is evident that corrective action of the existing development situation, including its imbalances, must be initiated on their behalf by adults. In this task, there are the inevitable challenges and dilemmas arising from competing priorities, budgetary and other constraints, and conflicting ends.

PLANNING

Much of the defect in existing planning arises from the tendency to rely on national averages which are highly misleading, and which leave out practical consideration of regional⁷ demographic and socio-economic disparities. The challenge is to find ways in which, continuously, the course of national development and planning is closely matched, modified or amended, to reflect the needs of those sections and groups in the population that are recording wide variances from the aggregate national scene. In developing adequate methodologies for such 'course correction and modification', one challenge

⁶ESCAP, "Appraisal of Achievements and Shortfalls of Social Development Objectives of the 2nd United Nations Development Decade". (Docu. E/ESCAP/SD.2/13 dated 21 November, 1978), pp. 26-27.

⁷This refers to regions within a country.

is to examine whether such typologies could not be developed, applied, and refined on a multi-country basis. If such a search is accepted as a common commitment by member countries in the region, this would certainly amount to grappling with an 'international' rather than a 'national challenge'.

IMPLEMENTATION

Under implementation, the challenge we have in mind is common not only to child welfare or to social services as a whole, but to the entire field of socio-economic development. This is the challenge of effective and timely delivery of a service to the needy clientele. It is also the challenge of tailoring a package of services to the composite needs of a widely varying clientele. Finally, it is the challenge of gearing a basically fragmented, sectoral machinery to deliver integrated cross-sectoral services, with all the accompanying problems and challenges of coordination.

Whatever the professed goals or objectives of child welfare it is clear that the majority among the developing countries is far from achieving hundred per cent coverage of the needy child population. Existing services, whether in health, nutrition, education, social welfare, recreation or other, generally affect only a fringe of the younger population. As the experience of these countries has revealed, the entire theory of percolation in development planning has failed, and questions such as how to make the delivery system mobile to reach the unreached, and how to reach the service to the doorsteps of the homes of children have emerged as the more pressing concerns.

In many instances, colonial administration has not proved itself sensitive to the developmental or participatory orientation of present day democracies. In some cases, it appears that systems which were created with a goal have, with lapse of time, become the goal, creating miles of red tape and shutting out people from their purview in the process.

Another constraint on implementation is that arising from lack of resources. The fact that resources of the required magnitude can never really be mustered up only helps worsen the gap between the norm and the reality in the coverage of child welfare services. It is evident that new methods of service delivery as well as standards have to be evolved in order to bridge this yawning gap between the service and the beneficiary.

MANPOWER

In manpower the challenges are fairly explicit. In planning for child welfare, we are talking of a client-based and a client-pivoted service. The front line of child welfare worker thus has to be the parent or the guardian of the child himself. In other words, not only must the service in this sector be community based, but it must deeply and closely involve the family of the child in the implementation, utilisation and planning of the service. This puts



great pressure on current training institutes and others to evolve training methods and programmes whereby to involve the community and the family in the running and management of child welfare services.

Along with the family, there are twin challenges also of developing para-professional and volunteer cadres in sufficient quantities, and with sufficiently integrated (rather than segmented) training. Effective placement and deployment of trained staff, whether volunteer or otherwise, is another challenge posed before the manpower planner in this field.



Manpower and Training Requirements for Children's Services

Mandakini Khandekar

VERY RECENTLY the Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha submitted its 128th report. The target of its criticism was the integrated child development scheme (ICDS). 'Too ambitious' was its verdict and it advised the organisers to prune the scheme commensurate with the limited available resources in both money and personnel. At the time of writing this paper, the full report was not available but *The Hindustan Times* in its issue of 24th April 1979 had featured the substance of the report.

It will be readily granted that the Public Accounts Committee does have a point here though we might not agree with its other observations. We do see that many programmes fail to make any appreciable impact on problems they are meant to encounter. One reason is that they have inadequate staff and remain small when their coverage should be extensive because of the continental size of our country if not for anything else. Instead of keeping projects to small proportions, we should see how they could be expanded once they are past the experimental stage.

Research studies too highlight the problem of inadequate manpower for welfare services.¹

The time has, therefore, come when a wide ranging survey of training facilities should be undertaken. And its scope should extend far beyond the availability of trained social workers; other categories too should be covered. Simultaneously, manpower needs of children's services in the 1980s should be assessed. In the case of training which has a limited focus, such as training for teachers of the blind, the survey and the assessment can very well be coalesced together. For certain other training, such as for child development services or social work, two separate though coordinated exercises might be necessary.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some important preliminary question concerning training and manpower surveys. It does not attempt to

¹Central Social Welfare Board, *Orphanages in India* (a study), New Delhi, Central Social Welfare Board, 1974; and Ramachandran, P., *Social Welfare Manpower in Greater Bombay*, Bombay, Somaiya, 1977.



raise issues concerning manpower policies because we do not as yet have adequate data on the basis of which issues could be discussed. Similarly, the paper does not probe the contents and methods of training for different services though their study is suggested.

Only four broad areas are chosen and they are:

1. Agency for Conducting Survey,
2. Training Strategy for Some Newer Programmes,
3. Nature of Regional Institutions, and
4. Manpower Assessment.

It is assumed here that there should be a meaningful framework for the proposed survey and assessment. The implicit assumption is that the two are needed and urgently so. The issues could be seen against the background of situations in different parts of India. Their problems could be highlighted. An issue has two or more sides to it. At times, we might fail to mention all of them.

The title of the paper would suggest that the section on manpower would be taken up first. However, this is taken up towards the end. This is so on account of the way the paper has been developed which is geared to the first two tasks suggested above.

AGENCY FOR CONDUCTING SURVEY

If it is necessary to survey the training facilities and get a measure of the future personnel requirements, one of the first practical questions would be: 'Who should be given the assignment?' Suitability of the selected agency for the assignment would be an important consideration. The question seems to have many answers. For a good perspective on the issue we may first of all indicate the tasks that will have to be done.

Since services are meant for children in need of them and training programmes are intended to equip the functionaries with the knowledge, skills and techniques required in giving the services, we might have a look at the various categories of:

- (i) children who need services,
- (ii) services, and
- (iii) training institutions.

The lists are given as appendices A, B and C and when seen together can act as aids in classifying existing and newer training programmes, extending the scope of the existing services and planning for newer ones. Here, it is taken for granted that a number of services can be given to each category of children. Indeed, it is this which lies at the base of the concept of integrated



services. When we visualise newer (newer in Indian context) services, such as day care for handicapped pre-schoolers, we would have to consider their implications for training programmes as well.

We have endeavoured to make these lists as exhaustive as possible. Even so, other categories which do not find a mention could be pointed out. Here, a distinction could be made between a service as such and the category to which it belongs. Categories, not particular services, need to be added.

A training institution should be differentiated from a training programme. The latter would be more relevant for our consideration. However, their complete documentation is lacking. Hence the need for the present task. The list of institutions could be taken as the first stage in the process of compiling an inventory of training programmes which could be in the following format:

<i>Types of Training Institutions</i> <i>Names and Addresses</i>	<i>Titles of Training Programme Relevant to Children's Services</i>	<i>In-take capacity of Training Programmes in the Selected Year</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)

For col. 1, Appendix C could be used. So far as col. 2 is concerned, the listing at this stage should be irrespective of whether the training programmes are generic or specialised, uni-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary.

The amount of work to be done would vary from one type of institution to another. The Second Review Committee for Social Work Education in India appointed by the University Grants Commission has compiled useful recent data on schools of social work in India.² Similarly, some work might have been done in certain other fields.

In regard to col. 3, it may be noted that in the case of broad-based training, such as social work, for example, data on in-take capacity would be only broadly indicative since all graduates might not go in for jobs in children's services.

²University Grants Commission, *Draft Report of the Second Review Committee for Social Work Education in India* (Mimeo.), 1977.



Once a broad survey of training facilities is done, the second stage of work would begin. An examination of their contents, methods and organisation could be taken up. Of necessity this task must be divided into some major areas which, it is suggested, could be as follows:

Training programmes for functionaries of services for:

- (a) The normal child in the community,
- (b) The normal child in residential care,
- (c) The delinquent child, and
- (d) The handicapped child.

Since training programmes are in terms of not only knowledge, skills and techniques but also of different categories of functionaries, the following could be kept in view:

1. Personnel giving direct services:
 - (a) Generalists, and
 - (b) Specialists;
2. Supervisory staff;
3. Planners, policy makers, administrators;
4. Training and research staff; and
5. Voluntary workers.

The issue here would revolve around the agency to undertake the three tasks. Should the State directorates of social welfare (and corresponding authorities in Union Territories) be asked to come forward or should some research or training institutions be entrusted with the work? Or, could it be that the overall assignment is better divided into a few major service areas and handed over to different agencies? For example, some service organisation for the mentally retarded could take up training programmes in its field.

Should the choice be for the third option, a number of questions will have to be sorted out. A few are given here:

1. How many and which will be the major areas in which children's services in Appendix B can be grouped?
2. What criteria should be followed in selecting service agencies?
3. Could some training or research institutions be an alternative?
4. Should the three tasks be further divided region-wise?

In the case of other options too, similar relevant questions could be raised. It is obvious that tasks 2 and 3 are the more important ones and that the first one is only incidental to them.



TRAINING STRATEGY FOR SOME NEWER PROGRAMMES

In recent years, some new training programmes have been started, e.g., the community health workers' training scheme and the ICDS workers' training scheme. They have been designed to meet the newer needs and have not been institutionalised so far. In Maharashtra, for instance, the *anganwadi* workers were sent to the Bal Sevika Training Institute at Kosbad, and the Gram Sevika Training Centre at Manjri near Pune. The supervisory staff attended courses at the VTK Institute, Baroda, and at the Literacy House, Lucknow. The Institute of Child Health, J.J. Group of Hospitals, Bombay gave training to the medical officers and the ANMs. The child development project officer was sent to two places for her training—the Delhi School of Social Work and the Family and Child Welfare Training Centre, Jamia, New Delhi.

Doubtless, similar varied arrangements were made in other States as well. According to the latest annual report of the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, the six family and child welfare training centres of the Central Social Welfare Board will be taken over by the Department for training the functionaries of the ICDS and other welfare programmes. It is taken for granted that when a new service programme is started, *ad hoc* training arrangements are likely to prevail for at least some time as institutionalising a training programme would not only be time consuming but also costly in the short run.

ICDS-type programmes would pose special problems. On the one hand, there is a need to vastly increase its area of coverage and a long term large scale programme would call for a full fledged custom made training programme. More so when in addition to official programme there are a number of voluntary projects akin to it. On the other hand, there is the question as to whether a programme which consists of many components each requiring a cafeteria of skills and techniques not to mention specific material support, can have all its training needs fulfilled at one place.

An issue, therefore, presents itself. Should ICDS-type programmes which should be many times their present size have, to be truly effective, their own training programmes or should the present training arrangements continue?

NATURE OF REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS

It is seen that while some services are given or coordinated by only government agencies, some others are given exclusively by voluntary agencies. Yet some others are given by both official and voluntary agencies. The pattern varies from State to State and it must be admitted that there is much scope for variations. This is one of the results of the policy of encouraging a partnership between government and voluntary agencies.

More or less the same policy was followed in regard to training as well.

While the government did design training programmes such as the gram-sevika training centres for specific services, it more or less depended on autonomous training institutes, universities and training programmes of voluntary agencies.

The newer trend is towards establishing government-linked national institutions. The National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development and the National Institute of Social Defence have been started and work is afoot for launching similar institutes for the visually handicapped, the deaf, the orthopaedically handicapped and the mentally retarded. Training teachers and other staff for services for these groups would be the major part of their activities.

Though national institutes are very important in many ways, they cannot provide the whole answer in a big country like India. The question, then, is about regional institutes. Are they needed?

Before this question can be answered, we have to consider the fact that a number of non-official training institutions exist. But an equally important fact is that they are bound to follow their own policies and many, if not all, might want to either project or retain a national and even international image. Hence, our answer to the above question would be in the affirmative.

The issue as we see it is this: Should the regional institutes be branches of their respective national counterparts or should they be independent organisations? Or, probably this is an issue which will have to be posed separately for different types of training programmes. What might be true of, say, teachers of the blind might not be so of, say, the ICDS field staff. The regional variations in the case of the latter might be far too pronounced than in the case of the former. If the issue is resolved in favour of regional institutes, which are organisationally independent of those at the national level, a number of questions would have to be considered:

1. It is certain that regional institutes will have to cover more than one State. How many of them should there be and what should be the jurisdiction of each?
2. Should State Governments take a lead in establishing them? If so, what should be the mechanisms for ensuring mutual cooperation among the States in a given region? Or, should some voluntary agency be given the task?
3. As mentioned earlier, a number of autonomous bodies, voluntary agencies, universities, etc., are active in the field of our concern. What would be the ways of maintaining effective liaison with them?

MANPOWER ASSESSMENT

At a time when one is not in a position to offer even a guesstimate as to the volume of social welfare manpower in India, we would have to do much



systematic, if elementary, groundwork. While doing so, we may keep in mind the fact that the recent stress on child development has widened the scope of children's services. We have, broadly speaking, three categories of services: (i) child development services, (ii) child welfare services, and (iii) child care services. We have discussed them elsewhere.³ While the distinction between the first two categories is clear, it may be noted here that child care has come to mean looking after children in institutions. Though a good deal of thought is now given to saving children from institutionalisation and also to lessening the rigours of institutional care, such care cannot be wished away. It is because of the fact that much of our early statutory child welfare work belongs to the third category and also because of its distinctive characteristics that the category is listed separately. It is, truly speaking, a sub-category of the second category. The following gives a broad overview of children's services:

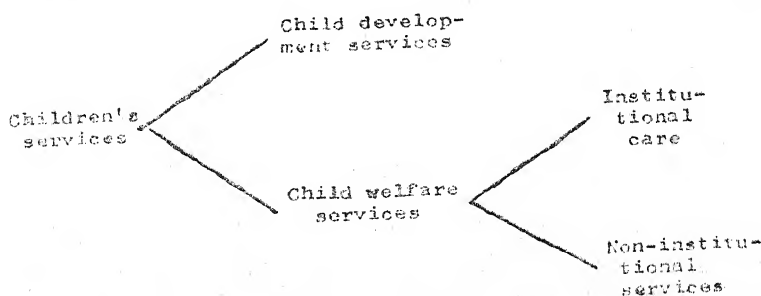


Fig. 1

Considered from another angle, services can be dichotomised as direct or indirect services. Just as understanding the nature of children's services is useful in both assessing and planning manpower requirements, it would be important to categorise the personnel engaged in giving services. A suggested model is shown in Fig. 2.

Estimating manpower requirements might have to be done in two parts: one for those giving direct service and the other for the indirect.

At the same time, it should be noted that this classification does not hypothesise any levels in the functioning of services. Questions of hierarchy *per se* of functions and positions are not germane to the discussion here.

Against such a background, we may spell out the two elementary tasks. In view of the fact that services are often given through the medium of programmes, structured in varying degrees, it is necessary to have programme-wise lists of various positions for which personnel is needed. Such a list based on a survey of social welfare manpower in Greater Bombay has already been compiled. To that extent, much work has been done. However, an

³Khandekar, Mandakini, "Some Aspects of Manpower for Child Care, Welfare and Development," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, 39(1), April 1978, pp. 1-8.

all-India list would doubtless have more entries. More so in view of some of the newer programmes.

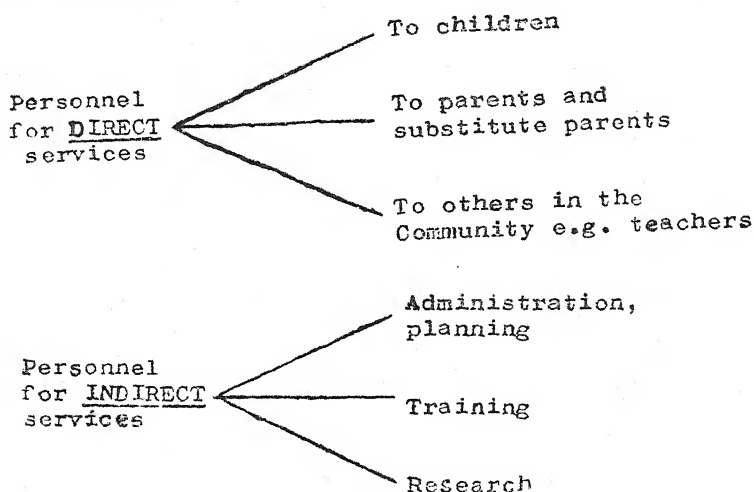


Fig. 2

Simultaneously with a listing of jobs and positions, there should be job-descriptions in order to take care of problems arising out of nomenclatures, designations, etc., which do not exactly fit the job-descriptions. Many designations remain, for various specified or unspecified reasons which at times would be quite valid, only broadly informative and might not indicate a variety of jobs which get associated with them. The format for the final statement based on this list could be as follows (the type and quantum of work needed at various stages of the proposed manpower assessment is not indicated her.):

<i>Programme position</i>	<i>Job description</i>	<i>Approx. no. of positions in the State during 1979</i>	<i>Approx. no. of additional positions needed during 1981-85</i>
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The listing should be for each programme. It would have utility for the training programme: the job-descriptions could be used in making training more focussed. Newer training programmes too can be devised if needed.

The issue that would come up here would be the same as the first one mentioned earlier. Since this task itself is very big, we may limit ourselves to it. It is needless to add that agencies selected for the task would have to have a wide enough focus for doing it.

Stemming from our earlier point that services are often provided through structured or semi-structured programmes, it is suggested that their employment potential be assessed programme-wise. While doing so, the indicated staffing patterns could be reviewed critically in terms of feasibility as well as certain minimum standards of service. For semi-structured or unstructured services, the personnel policies or staffing patterns of the structured programmes could provide certain guidelines. The existing coverage of different programmes, their proposed or feasible expansions could be kept in view. In the process of performing this task, programme-wise staffing patterns would have to be compiled. Their pay-off could very well be in the form of staffing guidelines for various programmes—something worth looking forward to, even granting the need to keep them flexible.

APPENDIX A

Children in Need of Services

I. Handicapped Children

1. Physically handicapped
2. Mentally handicapped
3. Socially handicapped

Under this head, we have numerous groups each suffering from a distinctive handicap or problem. At times, there is a clustering of problems in one group.

- (i) Orphans
- (ii) Deserted children
- (iii) Neglected children
- (iv) Victimised children
- (v) Those used for begging and other immoral and anti-social purposes
- (vi) Children in slums
- (vii) Children in poor families
- (viii) Children in the socially exploited classes such as the Harijans, Girijans, industrial labour, etc.

II. Children with behavioural problems or the emotionally disturbed children

III. Physically ill children

IV. Children who fail to benefit from school and other social utilities

V. Delinquent children

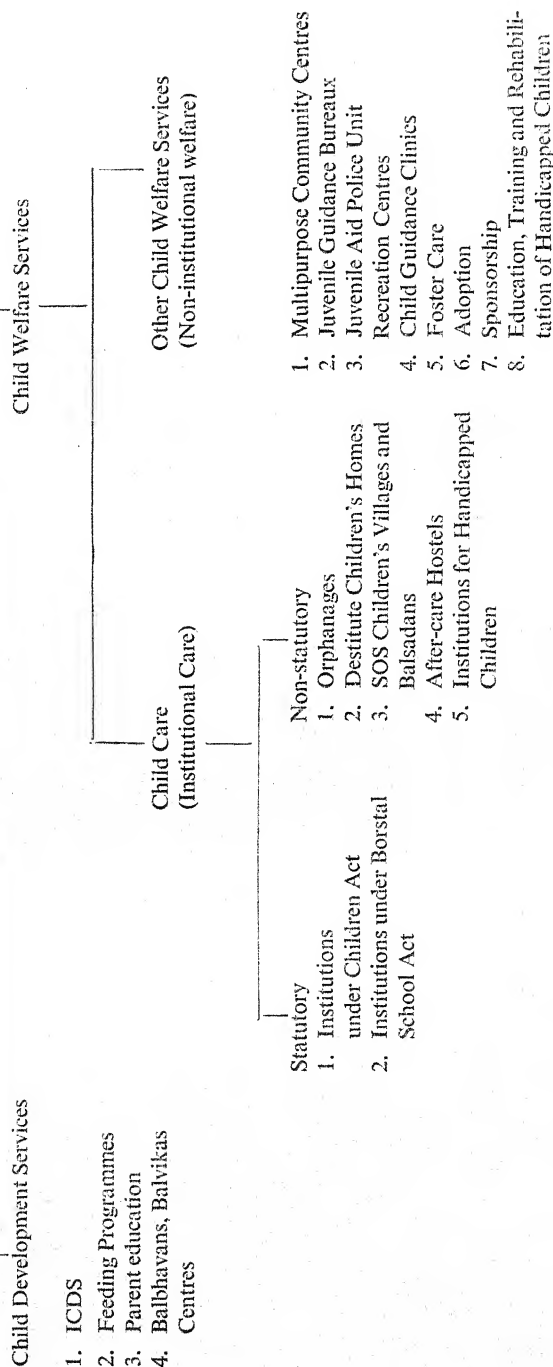
VI. Children of deviant or handicapped parents

1. Children of delinquent parents
 2. Children of prisoners
 3. Children of beggars
 4. Children of prostitutes
 5. Children of handicapped parents
 6. Children of broken families
- and so on.

VII. Gifted children

APPENDIX B

CHILDREN'S SERVICES



Note : The chart is wide ranging but not exhaustive.

APPENDIX C

Types of Training Institutions

1. Schools of Social Work
2. Colleges and Departments of Child Development
3. Departments of Psychology (Child Psychology)
4. Colleges and Departments of Education
5. Institutions of Teacher Training
6. Institutions of Preschool Education
7. Institutions of Preschool Teacher Training
8. Medical Colleges
9. Departments of Psychiatry (Child Psychiatry)
10. Colleges of Nursing
11. Departments of Nutrition in
 - (a) Medical Colleges
 - (b) Universities
 - (c) Other Institutions
12. Balsevika Training Centres
13. Gramsevak, Gramsevika Training Centres
14. Teacher Training for Teachers of the
 - (a) blind,
 - (b) deaf,
 - (c) spastics, and
 - (d) mentally retarded
15. Institutes of Public Administration, Social Welfare Administration
16. Department of Extension in Agricultural Colleges or Universities



Law and the Child in India

S.N. Jain

WE DO NOT have a comprehensive single code to deal with all the necessary aspects of child protection and welfare. Child is the subject matter of numerous enactments—a number of which have provisions, amongst others, for the child, *e.g.*, the Factories Act, 1948 or the Indian Penal Code; but a few deal exclusively with the child, *e.g.*, the Employment of Children Act, 1938 or the Children Act, 1960. The number of statutes containing provisions relating to the child are very many.

The British rulers were hardly concerned with the welfare of the people of India and had the least policy of regulating the human conduct or protecting the individual or providing for his welfare. Consequently there were not many laws concerning the child before independence, and whatever few laws there were, they were the result, by and large, of the ILO conventions to which India was a party.

After independence the country is committed to the welfare state and this policy is well ingrained in the directive principles of state policy of the Constitution. A few articles specifically provide for the protection and welfare of children. Article 15(3) enables the state to make special provisions for women and children. Article 24 provides : 'No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or employed in any hazardous employment'. Clauses (e) and (f) of Article 39 provide that the state shall direct its policy towards securing, 'that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength' and that 'children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment'. Article 45 provides : 'The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'.

NATIONAL POLICY AND AFTER

In 1974 the Government of India adopted the national policy for children.



It provides that:

The nation's children are a supremely important asset. Their nature and solicitude are our responsibility. Children's programme should find a prominent part in our national plans for the development of human resources, so that our children grow up to become robust citizens, physically fit, mentally alert and morally healthy, endowed with the skills and motivations needed by society. Equal opportunities for development to all children during the period of growth should be our aim, for this would serve our larger purpose of reducing inequality and ensuring social justice.

The resolution further states:

It shall be the policy of the State to provide adequate services to children, both before and after birth and through the period of growth, to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. The State shall progressively increase the scope of such services so that, within a reasonable time, all children in the country enjoy optimum conditions for their balanced growth.

All this calls for a great deal of legislative activity. The subject of 'child' does not fall exclusively either in the Union (Central) or State field. The innumerable facets of child behaviour, child welfare and his relationship with others come within the sphere of both the Centre and the States (either exclusively of each polity or concurrently of both). Accordingly, there are both Central and State statutes on the subject. A survey of the statute book reveals that there are over 250 Central and State statutes concerning children. The necessity to have all these plethora of laws may not be overemphasised. Without the basic foundation of good laws the various measures and programmes relating to children may not succeed, some of them even may not emerge, though law, it may be cautioned, is only one of the elements in the development and implementation of these schemes and programmes. Equally important alongwith the enactment of the laws is their effective administration. The idea of this small paper is to give a bird's eye view of these laws and not how they are being administered. It is hoped that in this International Year of the Child some institution will launch a research project on the administration of the child laws.

A broad classification of the laws relating to children are as follows: labour welfare; family law (such as marriage, legitimacy, guardianship, maintenance, adoption); criminal law including reformatory services, probation, children homes, suppression of immoral traffic; child welfare including prevention of vagrancy and beggary, child education and health; tortuous and contractual liability of children, etc. We have a surfeit of laws dealing

with children. Apart from minor deficiencies here and there, the statutes are basically adequate.

LABOUR WELFARE

One of the important aspects of child development and welfare is the employment of children in various avocations. There are both Central and State enactments on child labour—the former covering mainly employment in industries and mining, and the latter covering shops and establishments. At the international level there are ILO conventions and recommendations. India is a party to the ILO and as such has an obligation to adopt the ILO conventions. India has ratified several ILO conventions. Some of the conventions have special provisions for countries like India; these lay down lower standards than those to be followed by developed countries. In the matter of labour laws relating to children, India tries to follow the standards set by ILO conventions. So far the ILO has adopted 18 conventions and 16 recommendations bearing on children.

The Indian laws and the ILO conventions mainly deal with four matters: (i) minimum age for employment of children; (ii) medical examination of children; (iii) maximum hours of work; and (iv) prohibition of night work for children.

There are several enactments which deal with the above four matters, e.g., the Factories Act, 1948; the Mines Act, 1952; Employment of Children Act, 1938 (concerned with employment of children in hazardous occupations, such as transport of passengers, goods or mail by railway, or by a port authority within the limits of a port, or workshop wherein is carried the process of *beedi*-making, carpet-weaving, cement manufacture, cloth-printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture of matches, explosives and fire works, mica-cutting, shellac manufacture, canning, etc.); the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958; Motor Transport Workers Act, 1951; Plantations Labour Act, 1951; Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966; and the State Shops and Establishments Acts covering such employment as in shops, commercial establishments, restaurants and hotels, and places of amusements in urban areas.

It is not possible here to mention the details of the provisions of all these enactments, but the provisions of the Factories Act may be stated here. The Act prohibits employment of children below 14 years in any factory. Children above 14 years and below 18 years may be employed subject to a few restrictions. They are to obtain a certificate of fitness from a certifying surgeon. Children below 17 years cannot be employed at night. A child between the age group 14 and 15 cannot be employed for more than 4 hours in any day, and he cannot be employed in two shifts and cannot be allowed to work in more than one factory on the same day. The Act makes provisions for penalties for contravention of its provisions. An employer is punishable with



imprisonment for a term up to three months or a fine up to Rs. 500 or with both. Penalty can also be imposed on a parent or guardian for permitting double employment of a child. The Factories Act applies only to factories which employ a minimum number of ten persons where a manufacturing process is being carried on with the aid of power or twenty persons where it is being carried on without the aid of power.

The other statutes also prohibit employment of children below a certain age and regulate their employment above that age. There are, however, variations with respect to several matters—age of employment, hours of work, medical examination, etc. For instance, provisions of the Mines Act with respect to employment of children are more stringent than the Factories Act, but they are less strict in the case of employment in shops and establishments.

There is the Apprentices Act, 1961 which regulates the training of apprentices in industry so that the programme of training may be organised on a systematic basis and the apprentices may get the maximum advantage of their training. The Act prohibits engaging children below 14 years as apprentices.

The survey shows that the legislature has duly kept in view the welfare of child labour and prohibits employment of children below a certain age in different occupations. However, the laws are deficient as compared with the international standards as laid down by the ILO. Some of the reasons for this are economic backwardness necessitating a family to seek employment for children, lack of educational facilities and the unorganised nature of some of the economic sectors and the small size of the manufacturing units, making enforcement of the laws difficult. Thus, for employment of children, the various ages prescribed for different occupations are lower than the ILO standards. We do not have a law for agriculture labour. Smaller factories employing workers below a certain minimum are left uncovered by law. The same is the position with regard to medical examination. We do not have laws with respect of medical examination of children in non-industrial occupations, establishments which are not factories, establishments engaged in transport, and mines above ground. Further, the age up to which medical examination is required in factories and mines is less than the ILO standards. With regard to night work also our provisions are less stringent than those laid down by the ILO conventions.

CHILD WELFARE

In a broad sense child welfare refers to all those measures which lead to the proper development of the physical, social and psychological conditions of the child. Many of the welfare programmes, such as nutrition programmes, child development services, holiday camps, voluntary orphanages, etc., do not require the support of the law. These programmes depend upon the availability of economic resources. Law steps in only when it imposes compulsion on



the administration or other agencies to take compulsory action in the interest of the child, or restrict the liberty of the child by prescribing certain standard of behaviour and providing remedial measures in case of deviation. The major concerns of the law are with regard to treatment and rehabilitation of neglected, destitute, victimised, delinquent and exploited children; primary education for children; and child health in a limited respect. A few of these matters are dealt with under the section on criminal law below.

To provide for the care, protection, maintenance, welfare, training, education and rehabilitation of neglected or delinquent children, there is the Central Children Act, 1960 which applies to the Union Territories. Besides this enactment, States have their own Children Acts.

Under the Central statute a child means a boy who has not attained the age of 16 years or a girl who has not attained the age of 18. There are State variations with regard to the definition of a child in relation to this age.

The scheme of the Central Act with regard to the treatment and care of children may be briefly mentioned here. The statute makes a distinction between neglected and delinquent children. A neglected child is one who is found begging; or who does not have a settled place of abode or ostensible means of subsistence; or who is found destitute, whether orphan or not; or whose parent or guardian does not exercise proper care and control over him; or who lives in a brothel or with a prostitute or is found to associate with any person who leads an immoral, drunken or depraved life. The Act provides for the establishment of child welfare boards to investigate the problems of neglected children and to formulate treatment plans. Any police officer, or an authorised person, who is of the opinion that a child is apparently a neglected child, may take charge of such a child and is required to produce him before the board within 24 hours. The child, unless he is kept with his parent or guardian, is to be sent to an observation home until he is brought before the board. After an enquiry, the board may either order the release of the child or order him to be sent to a children's home for a period till he ceases to be a child. Instead of passing the latter order, the board may place a neglected child under the care of a parent or guardian or other fit person on his executing the necessary bond. The board may commit a child suffering from a dangerous disease to an approved place for treatment.

There are a few differences between the Central statute and some of the State statutes. The differences are: instead of the child welfare board, the child may be dealt with by a juvenile court; the child may be sent to the remand homes during the enquiry and certified schools on the conclusion of enquiry.

Under the Central Act, the procedure for dealing with delinquent children is the same, except that instead of the child welfare board, it is the juvenile court which deals with them. Further, after the decision of the court, a child is to be sent to a special school for delinquent children instead of the children's home. Thus there are separate institutions for delinquents and non-delinquents which is salutary.



The Central Act also makes provisions for after-care organisations after the child has left the children's home or special school. This is very necessary for if proper follow-up action is not taken to rehabilitate children, the idea behind creating special institutionalised services to deal with neglected and delinquent children may largely be lost.

The Central and the State statutes provide for licensing out of inmates of children's homes and special schools. The purpose is to enable the child to live with a responsible person for purposes of educating him and training him for some useful trade or calling.

The children statutes also provide for protection of children against victimisation. Thus the Central Act provides for punishment of those who, having a control over the child, assaults, abandons, exposes or wilfully neglects him in a manner likely to cause him unnecessary mental and physical suffering.

Several State children's statutes provide for punishment to those persons who induce girls to lead an immoral life or who behave immorally with girls. As stated earlier, under the Children Acts (Central and State) a 'neglected child' includes a girl who lives in a brothel or with a prostitute. Apart from these provisions, there is the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956 (known as SITA). It is a Central statute which applies throughout India. The Act has several provisions aimed at suppressing the vice of immoral traffic in girls and women. Besides providing for punishment to those who facilitate the carrying on of this vice, the Act makes provision for establishing protective homes for rehabilitating fallen girls and women.

In addition to the Children Act dealing with child beggars, the States have also separate beggary statutes. For example, the Bombay Prevention of Begging Act, 1959 provides that if a child above 5 years is found begging, the court before which he is brought is required to send him to a juvenile court. From then onwards, the provisions of the Bombay Children Act apply.

A bill entitled the Children, Students and Youth (Rights and Welfare) Bill, was also introduced in 1975 in Parliament for establishing a board to safeguard the rights of children, students and youth and to look after their welfare.

Education: Article 45 of the Constitution, as stated earlier, casts an obligation on the state to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. As education is a State subject, the States have enacted the necessary legislation to that effect. The Central Government prepared a model draft Bill for compulsory education to be adopted by the States. In 1960 Parliament enacted the Delhi Primary Education Act. Several States have been modelled on the Delhi Act. Under the Delhi Act the primary responsibility to create facilities for free primary education is on the local authorities. 'Primary education' means education up to such class or standard not beyond the eighth class or standard as may be prescribed. The Act provides for the imposition of a nominal fine on parents

for their failure to send the child to school without reasonable excuse. The Act also prohibits persons from employing a child which will prevent him from attending an approved school. Primary education under the Act is free.

Health: The two matters pertaining to health which are being dealt by law are smallpox and smoking. The Central Vaccination Act, 1880 provides for compulsory vaccination of children and adults. No fee is to be charged except by a private vaccinator. The various State statutes are modelled on the Central Vaccination Act.

As smoking of tobacco is dangerous to health, there exist Acts in the various States to prevent children from smoking and to punish those who encourage them to smoke.

CRIMINAL LAW

There are special statutory provisions in relation to crimes committed by children both in respect to substantive and procedural aspects; and also in relation to crimes against children. The basic statutes in this area are the Indian Penal Code (IPC), the Criminal Procedure Code (Cr. PC) and the Children Acts, apart from a few statutory provisions in special enactments like the SITA.

Keeping in view the inadequate mental development of children, the IPC provides that 'nothing is an offence which is done by a child under 7 years of age'. Further, under the Code, a child above 7 years and below 12 years may not be said to have committed an offence if he lacks sufficient maturity or understanding to judge the nature and consequences of his conduct with regard to the particular thing which he has done. SITA was enacted to stop the vice of commercialised prostitution. The main thrust of the law is against keeping and managing of brothels and other incidental matters like penalising persons to aid and promote the running of prostitution as a business. Under the Act girls engaged in immoral traffic as such are not punishable. A girl or a woman prostitute is, however, punishable where prostitution is carried on in any premises within the distance of 200 yards of any place of public religious worship, educational institution, hotel, hospital, etc.; or when she makes a positive attempt to seduce or solicit persons for purposes of prostitution. The Act also punishes persons including a girl or a woman for keeping a brothel or for procuring or inducing women or girls for prostitution. A provision which has the effect of preventing a girl under 16 years not to indulge in prostitution is S.375 of the IPC which provides that a person having sexual intercourse with such a girl with or without her consent shall be guilty of rape.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (the Sharda Act) prohibits marriages between a male below 21 years and a female below 18 years of age. The Act provides punishment for a male between the age of 18 years to 21 years and above if he contracts a marriage with a female child.



The Children Act read with the Cr. PC Code prescribes a special procedure for detaining and trial of a delinquent child. Section 27 of the Cr. PC 1973 provides that a person under the age of 16 years, committing an offence not punishable with death or imprisonment for life, brought before the court, may be tried by a juvenile court under the Children Act. It thus means that a child below 16 years is ordinarily to be tried by a juvenile court and not by ordinary court, except when the offence is punishable with death or imprisonment for life in which case the procedure will be the same as prescribed for others by the Cr. PC. Several State Children Acts foreclose the option of the court in this regard and require that a child delinquent shall be tried by a juvenile court, except where the offence is punishable with death or imprisonment for life. The Children Act, 1960 specifically provides that no child is to be tried jointly with an adult.

While arresting a child delinquent it is the ordinary criminal justice process which comes into being. Thus, it is the police who exercise the power of arrest in such a case, but there are liberal provisions with regard to the bail of children. S.18 of the Children Act, 1960 requires that a child delinquent is necessarily to be released on bail whether he is accused of a bailable or non-bailable offence, unless there are reasonable grounds for believing that the release is likely to bring him into association with any reputed criminal or expose him to moral danger or his release would defeat the ends of justice. So long as a child is not released on bail he is not to be kept in a police station or jail but in the observation home.

For child offenders the punishment of imprisonment is not to be used. The court may pass any of the following orders against a child committing an offence : advice or admonition; to be sent to a special school; to be placed under the supervision of a probation officer; to be placed on probation of good conduct under the care of parent, guardian or any fit person; imposition of fine; to be kept in safe custody in a prescribed place.

The IPC and a few other laws provide for offences against children for purpose of their protection and welfare. The IPC creates the following offences against children: causing of death of a living child, if any part of that child has been brought forth; concealment of birth by secret disposal of the body of a child with an intentional view to withhold the disclosure of the birth of the child from the world; exposing a child below twelve years to physical risk or deserting it with the intention of abandoning it by the parent or any such person having the care of the child; kidnapping from lawful guardianship; kidnapping or maiming a child for begging; selling a child for purposes of prostitution, etc.

SITA prescribes punishments to persons engaged in promoting the evil of prostitution. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 provides for punishment for persons connected with the performance of child marriages. The Young Persons Harmful Publications Act, 1956 prescribes punishment for publication and distribution of materials harmful to children. And the



Children Act, 1960 makes such matters as cruelty to children, exploiting them, using them for begging, etc., as punishable wrongs.

FAMILY LAW

The law relating to family law is quite complex in India since, basically, it is personal laws of the different communities which are applicable in the matter of family relationship. The major communities are the Hindus (which term includes Budhists, Sikhs and Jains), Muslims, Christians and Parsis. In the case of the Muslims, it is primarily the traditional law which applies and which is based on religion except for minor modifications here and there. The Hindu law has been codified. So also the Christian and Parsi laws have been codified in relation to marriage. There are, however, a few statutes which apply to all the communities, *e.g.*, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.

Family law is concerned with such matters as marriage, legitimacy, guardianship, adoption, and maintenance.

Marriage : The laws of all the communities discourage child marriage. The Sharda Act prescribes the minimum age for marriage for a boy to be 21 and for a girl to be 18. The Act prescribes penalties for its violation; but a marriage solemnised contrary to its provisions is not invalid. For finding out the validity of child marriages, one has to look to the personal law of the parties. The various personal laws vary in this regard. For instance, under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 such a marriage is neither void nor voidable; under the Muslim law it is voidable at the option of the girl; under the Parsi law it will be invalid unless the consent of the guardian has been obtained, etc. There is also the Special Marriage Act, 1954 under which the parties belonging to any community may solemnise the marriage. The Act prescribes the minimum age for marriage of a boy as 21 and for a girl as 18. The marriage solemnised without fulfilling the age requirements of the Act is void.

Legitimacy : The Indian Evidence Act, 1872 determines the question whether a child is legitimate or not. It applies to all the communities. According to its provisions, the criterion for legitimacy is not conception but birth during the marriage. The section provides: 'The fact that any person was born during the continuance of a valid marriage between his mother and any man, or within two hundred and eighty days after its dissolution, the mother remaining unmarried, shall be conclusive proof that he is the legitimate son of that man, unless it can be shown that the parties had no access to each other at any time when he could have been begotten.' The section comes into operation when the marriage is valid. The legitimacy of the child of an invalid marriage is determined by his personal law.

The personal law of the Hindus is the most liberal with regard to the legitimacy of children born of invalid marriage. Thus, the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 regards such children to be legitimate whether marriage is annulled by

the court or not. Under the Muslim personal law, such children are generally regarded as illegitimate except where the marriage is only irregular (*fasiid*). The provisions of the Special Marriage Act are the same as those of the Hindu Marriage Act. The Parsi and the Christian laws of the subject are silent.

As regards the disabilities of illegitimate children the position is as follows. Under the Hindu Marriage Act a child of an invalid marriage, though legitimate, succeeds only to his parents' property but not of other relations. An illegitimate child under the Hindu and Muslim laws has a right of inheritance from his mother but not father. Under the Indian Succession Act, 1925 which applies to Christians and Jews and also to persons governed by the Special Marriage Act, 1954, the position is that an illegitimate child has no right of inheritance from his parents.

Under the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 both the parents are liable to maintain their illegitimate children. Further, under the Cr.PC, 1973, which applies to all the communities, a putative father of an illegitimate child is liable to maintain him.

Guardianship, Adoption and Maintenance : To protect the interest of minors, there are laws making provisions for appointment of guardians of minor's person and minor's property. The basic statute on the subject is the Guardians and Wards Act, 1890. This statute exists side by side with the personal laws, but it prevails over the personal law if there is a conflict. Under the Act an application can be made to a court for appointing a guardian of a minor. In appointing a guardian by the court the paramount consideration is the welfare of the child and in this connection the court is to give due regard to the personal law of the minor. The Act thus gives weightage to the personal law of the minor in the matter of appointment of the guardian.

Only amongst the Hindus the law permits adoption, except that in the case of other communities, custom may permit adoption. But no such widespread custom of adoption amongst other communities seems to exist in India. The basis of adoption among the Hindus is ingrained in their religion. At present the adoption amongst this community is governed by the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956. Even this statute is outmoded in the sense that it is parent-based and the religion is the governing factor. The motivation for this Act is not the interest of abandoned or destitute child but that of the parents wishing to adopt a child. In 1972 a Bill called the Adoption of Children Bill did happen to be introduced in Parliament. It was to be a secular law of adoption and to apply to all the communities. As opposed to the Hindu adoption statute, the Bill was child based and provided adequate safeguards in the interest of the adopted child. However, due to the opposition of the various communities, particularly the Muslims, the Bill was ultimately withdrawn by the Government in July 1978. This is most unfortunate.

We have a secular law of maintenance, and also personal laws dealing with maintenance. S.125 of the Cr. PC 1973, which applies to all the communities, provides that if any person having sufficient means neglects or refuses to



maintain his legitimate or illegitimate minor child (whether married or unmarried) who is not able to maintain itself, he may be ordered by a magistrate to make a monthly allowance to such child at such monthly rate not exceeding Rs. 500 in the whole. The idea behind this provision is to provide an expeditious remedy to the person concerned and also to impose sanctions against the person liable to provide maintenance so that he duly complies with the order of the court. Under the provision only a maximum sum of Rs. 500 per month can be awarded. Under the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 every Hindu, whether father or mother, is bound to maintain the minor children (legitimate or illegitimate). There is no limit prescribed as to the amount of maintenance except that the court, while making an order of maintenance, is to take into account the reasonable wants of the claimant, his position and status of the person's own resources, and the position and status of the person liable to provide maintenance. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 also gives power to the court to pass suitable orders for the maintenance of a child while granting various matrimonial reliefs. Several marriage statutes—the Special Marriage Act, 1954, the Parsis Marriage and Divorce of Marriage Act, 1936 and the Indian Divorce Act, 1869—have somewhat similar provisions as contained in the Hindu Marriage Act. In the matter of maintenance of children other than cases involving matrimonial relief, the Parsis and Christians are governed by the Cr. PC. Muslims are governed by their own religious law in the matter of maintenance. Thus a Muslim father is bound to maintain his son till he obtains puberty and his daughter till she gets married. If the father is poor it is the mother who has to fulfil this obligation. However, the father under the Muslim law has no obligation to maintain his illegitimate child. But in the *Hanafi* law a mother has such an obligation towards the illegitimate child.

MISCELLANEOUS

Under this heading a brief mention may be made of such topics as minor's agreements, torts and children, child's testimony, and suits by and against minors.

Minor's agreements are governed by the Indian Contract Act, 1872. The law tries to reconcile two conflicting positions—a minor has to be protected against unconscionable contracts which he may be led to enter due to his immaturity, but a minor has to have his existence and so some protection has to be extended even to minor's agreements. Under the Indian Contract Act minor's agreements are void and cannot be enforced against him. However, minor's contracts for necessities are not void. The minor's estate is liable for such contracts, though he is not personally liable.

The voidness applies to minor's agreements which are executory (that is, where both the minor and the third party have to perform their part of the contract), even though a contract is beneficial to the minor. But this is not



entirely true in the case of executed contracts. In some situations, it has been held by the courts, the minor can be a promisee (a situation where the minor has performed his part of the contract). Further, in some situations the law permits restitution of the benefit received by the minor to the other party and *vice versa*, though the contract is void.

A guardian can step in to supplement the minor's incapacity to contract, otherwise the minor's property may suffer. The law permits a guardian to act on behalf of the minor for sale or purchase of property, subject to certain restrictions so as to guard against abuse of power and exploitation of minor's property.

The law of torts is essentially a judge-made law. The law of torts, unlike the law of contracts, does not draw a sharp line of demarcation between a child and an adult. A child is liable for the tort committed by him as an adult person, except where liability depends on some special mental element like malice or fraud or where reasonable conduct is involved. Similarly, where tort is committed against the child by a person and the issue involved is that of contributory negligence of the child, the age and mental development are taken into account by the courts in determining contributory negligence. Under the Fatal Accidents Act, 1855, a child has a right to sue for the loss occasioned by the death of his parent as a result of an actionable wrong within the meaning of the Act.

A child is a competent witness under S. 118 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, unless the court considers that he does not understand the question or is unable to give rational answers by reason of his tender years. However, no oath can be administered to a witness who is a child under twelve years of age. The weight to be attached to the testimony of a child will depend upon such factors as the tender years of the child, mental development and understanding, consistency of evidence, likelihood of tutoring, etc.

The law safeguards the interests of the minor in the matter of civil litigation. Order 32 of the Civil Procedure Code deals with suits by or against minors. No proceeding in a court can be initiated by a minor without a next friend. Similarly, a suit can be filed by a person against a minor only through the guardian of the minor.

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Laws Relating to Children

S. Venugopal Rao

IT IS a characteristic feature of our times that awareness of deep-seated social maladies emerges, and that too fleetingly, only when public attention is drawn to them through observance of years, weeks and days. The International Year of the Child may not, therefore, move any mountains in regard to the welfare and protection of nearly three hundred million children below the age of fourteen in India, but it has projected the gigantic dimensions of the problem, exposed the wasted efforts of three decades since independence and highlighted the complexity of the tasks that lie ahead of us. Nowhere are indecision and ineptitude so revealing as in the administration of laws relating to children wherein the failure to evolve a national policy and a suitable administrative machinery for implementation reflects the deplorable limits of societal apathy.

Yet, juvenile legislation is not new to India. The beginnings of such legislation can be traced as far back as 1850 when the Apprentices Act provided a skeletal infrastructure for the control of delinquent children between the ages of ten and eighteen. The Reformatory Schools Acts of 1876 and 1897 envisaged the creation of institutional facilities for the care of delinquent and neglected children. The Indian Jails Committee (1919) bewailed the mixing up of delinquent children with adult criminals and demanded elimination of imprisonment of children. Children Acts were brought on the statute books of many States, one of the earliest pieces of legislation being the Madras Children Act of 1920. Immediately in the wake of independence, there were renewed efforts beginning with the Maharashtra and Bombay Children Acts (1948). Since then, many States have enacted analogous legislation, but lack of uniformity in definitions and ambivalence in the matter of administrative machinery thought of for implementation led to the Central Act on children (1960) which is projected as a model for all States and Union Territories.

CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION

The Child Marriage Restraint Act (1929) and the Children (Pledging of Labour) Act of 1933 are among the other important pieces of welfare legislation before the attainment of freedom. The Indian Penal Code (IPC) has extensive provisions intended to protect the child from exploitation and

exposure to moral and physical hazards and particular mention may be made of Section 363 A which was specifically introduced to prevent the inhuman practice of kidnapping children for purposes of begging. The Indian Constitution directs the state policy towards protection of children against exploitation and abandonment. The employment of children below the age of fourteen is forbidden, but this is applicable only to industrial establishments and leaves out the vast segment of agriculture where the child is an investment in terms of manpower to the marginal farmer and the impecunious labourer.

Welfare legislation in a tradition-bound society, however benign, cannot be expected to yield immediate results. The grip of superstition and economic necessity are two major factors which outweigh rationality and law. And yet, the impetus must come from purposeful and effective enforcement with simultaneous endeavours to create a suitable climate and public opinion. The burning of child widows and female infanticide which were suppressed in the middle of the last century and the gradual abolition of child marriages in the first half of this century demonstrate that an alert public opinion has to be backed by determined enforcement. Even today, we hear occasionally of mass marriages of children in some isolated parts of the country. The hesitation which marked this legislation in the face of orthodox opposition is understandable when one recalls the reluctance of the British to suppress so barbaric a practice as *sati* on the ground that it would be deemed an undue interference with the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. The offences under the Child Marriage Restraint Act continue to be non-cognisable even after the lapse of a half century of enforcement which leaves many a loophole for the determined and the ignorant. Superstition, ignorance and social exploitation are at the back of such offences which do not automatically disappear as society undergoes changes in its structure without concurrent penal action of requisite strength and determination.

All laws need goals, definitions, explanations and rules of procedure. Many of our difficulties in implementing the laws relating to children have arisen due to lack of uniformity in definitions and inability to evolve a pragmatic and uniform set of rules as if the problems of the neglected, destitute and delinquent children are widely different in different parts of the country. In the name of autonomy, a needless diversification has emerged which has no rationale. A comparative study of the Children Acts in various States reveals a major variation in the definition of the child. In some States, a further categorisation of young persons and youthful offenders with different age limits is attempted. The States' continued adherence to certain age limits as sacrosanct despite the fact that the model Act of 1960 has suggested certain limits after due consideration of the views of all State Governments is intriguing. The existence of different age limits for the definition of the child leads to administrative and investigative difficulties since they are closely linked to the type of treatment to which the child is entitled.

GAPS IN IMPLEMENTATION

As an example of administrative inertia in the formulation of laws, the example of Andhra Pradesh may be cited. Formed in 1956 as a sequel to States reorganisation, it has two Children Acts in force—the Madras Children Act of 1920 in the Andhra districts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency and the Hyderabad Children Act (1951) in the Telengana districts. In addition, there is also the Hyderabad Children's Protection Act in the city of Hyderabad whose enforcement is entrusted to the director, women's welfare. Although it has been long recognised that the legislation reflects the distortions of a feudal society and has little relevance in the modern context, it has continued untouched by the bewildering changes that have occurred. It is now proposed to repeal the Act.

In the Andhra area, the upper age limit of a child is fourteen years while persons belonging to the age group of 14-16 are designated as young persons. The Act provides for establishment of certified schools—the junior category serving the needs of children below 14 who are not delinquent and the senior institutions being designed for the custody of children above that age limit. The concept of youthful offender is also introduced into the legislation which creates a distinct group of young people below 16 who may come to notice in criminal offences. The age limit for the youthful offenders has been raised to 18 by an amendment to the Madras Children Act in 1958 and this is applicable to the Andhra districts only while the Telengana region continues to have its own criteria for judging the age of criminal responsibility and prescribing the appropriate treatment of juvenile offenders. A series of efforts have no doubt been made to have a uniform legislation throughout the State and, at one time, a draft Bill was even sent to the Government of India for approval. It was returned with the advice that the major features of the Central Act 1960 should be incorporated therein. Once again legislative efforts are under way. That it should take more than twenty-three years to have an integrated legislation in a single state reflects the enormous confusion that has been allowed to be created in so simple a matter as child welfare.

It is a sad commentary on the state of our society that even in regard to a non-controversial area as child welfare and juvenile delinquency, there should be an endless argument as to who is a child and who is not, whether there should be discrimination among the sexes and what institutional arrangements can be thought of for the custodial treatment of neglected and destitute children. There has been no dearth of seminars and academic discussions on the emerging problem of juvenile delinquency in a rapidly urbanising society, but sophistication has inevitably made confusion worse confounded, with the scholars, policy makers and administrators pulling in different directions. It may be of some consolation that even as I write this, a Bill to amend the law for the care, protection, maintenance, welfare, training, education and rehabilitation of neglected children and juvenile offenders and for the trial

of juvenile offenders has been prepared and will be presented shortly in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly.

In the national context, the position is equally unsatisfactory. A few States had not even enacted Children Acts till recently; even where the formality of legislation has been gone through, the rules have not been formulated. The time gap between legislation and rule-making is so large that it gives an impression that the States Governments, except a few, are not serious about implementation. The gap between intentions and implementation makes a mockery of all legislation relating to children.

DISTORTED PRIORITIES

In general, Children Acts are ambitious and designed for ideal conditions. The legislation demands an elaborate administrative network and institutional machinery, following the models developed in affluent societies. The legislation calls for a parallel administrative set-up of child welfare boards and juvenile courts supported by suitable institutional facilities for different types of juveniles. Such a network depending solely on the state for upkeep and development swallows the bulk of funds allocated for rehabilitation programmes. Administrative inhibitions and red tape are inevitable in such a system. Even so, there is no assurance that the juvenile justice system can produce the desired results as juvenile delinquency has been identified with society's failure to provide appropriate socialising instrumentalities for the new generation of children caught in the breakdown of traditional institutions like family and community, and the slackening of community ties under the impact of increasing mobility and urbanisation. The unquestioning adoption of western institutions without adequate research and evaluation in the Indian setting is not likely to lead to more impressive results in our society where, despite the growth of urban population, nearly 80 per cent of the population continue to be rural based. The delinquent child may be more often found in the city streets, but it has rural roots. The strategies that have to be thought of must, therefore, be simple and in tune with the prevailing life styles of the bulk of the population.

Going through the extensive literature that has grown round the delinquent child during the past two decades, one cannot help accepting that the conventional correctional approach, popularised in the west, and taken up by our social workers in unbounded enthusiasm, is at best a superficial programme which does not touch the core of the problem. There is a distorted placement of priorities, an undue emphasis on ideal conditions and a tendency to create an elaborate administrative machinery which has little hope of survival in the coils of red tape and bureaucratic regimen. That the luxury of these experiments is beyond the resources of our society is well known, but we persist in them. We ascribe the failure of the system to fitful implementation, lack of manpower and inadequate finances, forgetting that these are

constraints which will be ever present.

In support of the above statement, the juvenile justice system may be examined in some depth. When a juvenile offender is apprehended and cannot be released on bail, he has to be taken to a place of safety before production in the juvenile court. The place of safety can be an observation home or any other suitable place or institution (not being a police station). The arrest (apprehension) has to be intimated to the parents or guardians as well as the probation officer who is required 'to proceed forthwith to trace the antecedents and family history of the child'. Similar action is contemplated in respect of neglected children with the only difference that they have to be produced before the child welfare board which is expected to carry out the necessary enquiries before deciding their future custody and care. The board constituted under the Children Act 'shall consist of a chairman and such other members as the Government may think fit to appoint of whom not less than one should be a woman... and no person shall be appointed unless he has, in the opinion of the Government, special knowledge of child psychology and child welfare.' A juvenile court has to be presided over by a single magistrate or preferably a bench of magistrates of whom one shall be a woman. The Act also provides that every juvenile court shall be assisted by a panel of two honorary social workers 'possessing such qualifications as may be prescribed' of whom one shall be a woman and such panel shall be appointed by the Government.

The elaborate network of child welfare boards and juvenile courts running on parallel lines—one for neglected children and the other aimed at the reclamation of delinquent children—is bound to slide into an impersonal response system in an area where the essential requisites are personal involvement, dedication and genuine love of the child. It is an area where voluntary effort must dominate and the administrative infrastructure must be kept in the background. The children's laws and the administrative machinery suggested for their implementation, on the other hand, project an opposite arrangement.

CREATION OF INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

With nearly a hundred million children living below the poverty line, the elite discussions as to who is a neglected child loses all meaning, because exploitation, exposure and abandonment are the direct consequences of degrading poverty. The most basic requirement in the contemporary socio-economic setting in India is, therefore, creation of adequate institutional facilities to take care of the children, by whatever nomenclature one may prefer to call them. At the same time, the problem has to be tackled with a sense of realism. It is typical of the Indian approach that instead of taking immediate steps towards creating this facility, the emphasis has already shifted to building up an auxiliary administrative network to supervise and control the functioning of that facility. It is a clear case of putting the cart before the

horse. It is a sad reflection on our concern for destitute and delinquent children that in 1977, the Children Acts covered only 197 of the 370 districts in the country. The number of juvenile courts is about 80, while observation homes are in the region of 150. The number of children's homes is 90 while the certified schools and analogous institutions for delinquent children are 85. The total capacity of *all* these institutions is about 15,000 while every year 150,000 children are apprehended by the police either under the Children Acts or for more formal violation of law.

THE MAUDLIN PHILOSOPHY

The official statistics represent only a very small fraction of the child population needing protection and care. Hordes of children swarm our railway stations, bus stands, temple precincts, cinema houses, hotels and shopping centres in our growing cities reflecting the naked poverty and neglect of centuries. Why cannot the police or any other agency—voluntary or governmental—take charge of them? The harsh truth is there is no place where they can be taken to. Institutions are few, and where they are in existence, they are over-crowded and run with meagre resources. In the implementation of the Children Acts, the Maudlin philosophy underlying them projects the police, the one agency with which the delinquent child comes into contact at the initial stages, in such unfavourable light that they have to efface themselves in an obsequious and apologetic manner. It may be one of the reasons why the police do not take greater interest in enforcing the Children Acts more vigorously unless a serious offence is brought to their notice. From one point of view, it may even be good as it denotes one way of exercising discretion and nothing can be more injurious than taking cognisance of all delinquent acts of children. Quite often, it is desirable that minor delinquencies of children are ignored so that they do not have to pass through the experience of juvenile court procedures which, despite all the good intentions, are long-drawn and suffocating.

I have often felt, even among the highest police circles, a sense of reluctance to accept the responsibility for enforcement of what is euphemistically called 'social legislation'. True, the police have a point in their favour, burdened as they are with interminable problems of law and order and preoccupation with 'traditional' crime, but what is overlooked is that law is not immutable and it is subject to change in consonance with changes in the social structure. The point is obvious and needs no elaboration since it is for society to decide what laws are to be made and what should be deemed legal infractions at a particular point of time in its evolution. As society undergoes changes in structure, attitudes, values and norms, traditional crimes may disappear or the need for treating them as such may vanish; and offences of greater social import and injury may emerge in varying degrees of seriousness. However, a major point which has to be kept in view is that new and unfamiliar legislation may



founder on the shoals of hackneyed and unimaginative law enforcement and call for innovative techniques. Much of the welfare legislation relating to children reflects the prevailing hostility to conventional law enforcement symbolised by the police system whose forbidding image has been put forward in justification of minimising their role in implementation. The policy can result in irreparable damage in the long run. The error of this approach lies in our inability to utilise the available resources in the police system through appropriate restructuring to meet the demands of legislation in a welfare state.

It is not my case that implementation of laws relating to children should be left entirely to the police. Police cannot certainly provide institutional facilities nor can they be expected to play the role of big brother in all crisis situations. But it is good to bear in mind that the first official agency with which the child—neglected or delinquent—comes into contact is the police, and for this reason alone, the police must be attuned to handle the child with requisite sympathy and understanding. The artificial circumventions in the laws relating to children have emerged from excessive correctional sensitivity. They are based on an assumption that the impact of the first contact with law might be traumatic to the impressionable child. Hence the insistence on effacing the police to the maximum extent, but in a society where there is a deplorable lack of agencies to take charge of children, the well-intended provisions remain merely on paper. Lack of pragmatism is an important factor contributing to desultory implementation of legislation relating to children.

DESTITUTION THE BASIC PROBLEM

I hope that the International Year of the Child will focus the nation's attention on destitute and neglected children since, in my view, delinquency is no more than a part of this neglect. In the sophistication of the laws we have already formulated, we are perhaps embarking on too elaborate a system which may be self-defeating. We reject the available resources, tie up enforcement in knots with meaningless shibboleths, inhibit voluntary efforts and kill popular initiative in the vain hope that ideal conditions in which juvenile legislation can be implemented will prevail. That there have been instances of maladministration and mismanagement of some institutions is no justification for encircling the entire juvenile justice system with red tape and bureaucratic regimentation.

Statistically, juvenile delinquency is still not a menacing problem in our country, although the rising trend of the phenomenon is a pointer to the shape of things to come. The basic problem is destitution. With reference to our resources, we need simple laws relating to the care of children; a greater degree of police involvement in relation to apprehension and initial custodial care and whose contribution can be significant provided they are sufficiently

imbued with the philosophy of juvenile legislation; an informal adjudicatory system of the existing magistracy with proper orientation; provision for the exercise of discretion in dealing with juvenile offenders; and finally, the establishment of an adequate number of children's homes—one at least in each district to which destitute and delinquent children can be sent for custody and care. The insistence on a parallel set-up for the neglected and delinquent children at a time when we are not able to cover even half of the country under juvenile legislation bespeaks of lack of practicality. Overriding all these, there is a crying need for uniformity in the definition of the child and fixation of age limits and a reasonable degree of uniformity in the procedures for adjudication and institutionalisation. Let us do away with the clap-trap of 'young persons' and 'youthful offenders'. If we can provide the appropriate custodial care to children in the tender age below 16, the main battle against delinquency is won.

Institutionalisation is, by no means, a satisfactory alternative to homes where children belong in their natural environment. But when children are neglected or exploited or when they display extreme manifestations of neglect through deviance, institutionalisation is the only means whereby attempts can be made to reclaim them. Despite the monotony, regimentation and overcrowding, they are better than nothing. In the search for an utopian structure of juvenile institutions and their supervision as contemplated in our children's laws, the progress has been irritatingly slow during the last thirty years. My fear is that in trying to achieve all things at one time, we may do very little indeed, the extensive plans remaining merely on paper as a gesture of our good intentions. Let us, therefore, make a modest beginning with attainable targets.

My suggestions may not satisfy the over-zealous social worker, but they can go a long way in creating a juvenile welfare and justice system which is not only in tune with our life style, philosophy and resources, but also can endure by the very evolutionary processes involved therein.

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Overview of Children's Acts

J. J. Panakal

THE EARLIEST enactment providing for non-institutional processing of children convicted by the courts was the Apprentices Act. Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, reformatories were established under the Reformatory Schools Act for processing convicted children. Along with the Probation of Offenders Act (1958), the Reformatory Schools Act could have materially contributed to juvenile correctional work in recent years, but this favourable opportunity was altogether lost by over-emphasising the need for special legislation and by waiting indecisively for the enactment of Children's Acts prior to expanding correctional services for children. In the process, programmes for non-delinquent children too suffered as the Children's Act provided the statutory basis for institutional and non-institutional services for such children.

Children's Acts differ from one another both in their scope and content. They have neither adopted uniform definitions nor uniform procedures in processing children.

For example, 'child' is defined under the Madras Act as a person under the age of fourteen years and 'young person' as above fourteen but under eighteen. Punjab, Hyderabad and Uttar Pradesh define child as a person under sixteen years. For Centre, Bombay, Karnataka, Rajasthan and Assam, the age limit for childhood is sixteen years for boys and eighteen for girls. In Saurashtra and West Bengal, it is eighteen years for both.

Again 'youthful offender' in Madras, Bombay, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, 'juvenile offender' in Hyderabad, 'juvenile delinquent' in Saurashtra and West Bengal, or 'delinquent' in Centre, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Rajasthan is defined as a person who has committed an offence punishable with imprisonment.

Children's Acts are not comprehensive child welfare Acts and were never designed to provide intensive child welfare services. In fact, the Acts had their accidental origin in persistent efforts to gradually separate children from adults at the undertrial, court and institutional levels. Children's Acts passed by State legislatures and later by Parliament provided for the juvenile court and institutional and non-institutional services such as probation and aftercare for children, both delinquent and non-delinquent.

THE AGE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Because of the emphasis on youthful offenders, child welfare has not coherently developed under the Children's Acts. This may be possible if exhaustive programmes under Children's Acts are separated from correctional work and the Acts are also suitably amended to provide for more child welfare services. It has also been suggested that there should be two separate pieces of legislation, one dealing with delinquent children and another the non-delinquent.

Children's Acts have not paid special attention to creative ways of helping families before children reach the court. Further, they have not been significantly helpful in indicating ways to reduce the intake of children at the level of the remand home. Minimum standards cannot be automatically maintained and individualisation cannot be consistently achieved when the volume of work is unusually large.

Children's Acts should have authorised special services to trace parents or other relatives of children as a preliminary step prior to detailed processing by courts. A child remembers details of the specific environment from which he came at the time he is taken charge of by official agencies. Therefore, at that stage, he is in a better position to help officers who are engaged in tracing his relatives. Where necessary, special staff could be provided who will travel with the children to the places from where they came and attempt establishing direct contact with their relatives. Special personnel entrusted with such work can certainly reduce the number of children committed to institutions.

The Indian Penal Code fixed the age of responsibility at seven but the Children's Acts have been liberally extending the age groups covered by the term 'child'. Today, it remains at sixteen years in some States and at eighteen in others. Without adequate institutional and non-institutional services, deliberately raising the age groups covered only yields a perpetual burden. There is need for special services for the young adult between 16/18 and 21/23 years and this should be met not by grouping most of them with children but by enacting special legislation for providing them with such services. Efforts are being made to draft such a Bill but it will cover only young adults who have offended against the law, some of whom are at present placed in borstal schools.

Efforts have been made to develop special police services to deal with delinquent and non-delinquent children coming under the provisions of Children's Acts. But the Acts too should provide suitably for special police with requisite training to work with children so that their alert service would not be restricted to a few centres but would always be available throughout the State. Today such services are provided mainly in large cities. Training of the police to enable them to make a constructive impact on children has not received the attention it deserves.

JUDICIAL PARTICIPATION

The enactment of the Central Children's Act in 1960 generated interest in the compulsory separation of delinquent children from the non-delinquent. The former are processed through the children's court and then placed in special schools. The latter are sent to the child welfare board and then admitted to children's homes. Surprisingly, even the Central Act does not provide for gradually separating the delinquent children from the non-delinquent (neglected) prior to their appearance before the board or court as both groups are necessarily confined in one and the same observation home. At the stage of taking charge of a child, it is difficult to distinguish between the delinquent and the non-delinquent, and it is often possible for the law violator to be taken charge of as a neglected child and *vice versa*. A recent amendment to the Central Children's Act has made provision for the interchangeability of cases between the court and the board.

Apart from the confusing problem of separating the delinquent from the non-delinquent, the question of taking decisions gravely affecting the lives of children without the active participation of the judiciary needs mature consideration. Even if this genuine issue is imprudently ignored, outside cities, there is a deplorable dearth of qualified personnel who can creditably fill positions at the district and taluka levels.

Regarding the right of the accused to defend himself by a legal practitioner of his choice, there is an interesting decision¹ by the Gujarat High Court, arising from the order passed by the President, Children's Court, Rajkot, in *Kario Mansingh Malu and others vs. the State of Gujarat*:

Though a juvenile delinquent cannot be awarded death penalty, sentence of transportation or imprisonment, he can be fined in the specified circumstances. Merely because the juvenile court has no power to award a sentence of imprisonment, it cannot be said that the provisions of Article 22(1) of the Constitution of India cannot be pressed into service.

The court held that Section 22 of the Saurashtra Children's Act, 1954 being inconsistent with Article 22(1) of the Constitution of India, is void to that extent as it takes away the right of an arrested person to be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice. According to the Court, the question, therefore, whether these provisions of Section 22 of the Act are meant to protect the interest of a child is immaterial and irrelevant. Grounds of public interest will not be necessary to be considered. The Court said :

In this case, at the earliest stage, the three accused persons had prayed to the Court to allow them to obtain legal assistance and they had been denied

¹*Gujarat Law Reporter*, Vol, X, 1969, p. 66.

their right, thus causing prejudice to them. The Constitution gives an unfettered absolute right to a person who is arrested to defend himself by obtaining legal assistance. That right is not circumscribed in any manner, just as it has been done in the case of Article 19. No special provision is made in Article 22 in respect of women and children as it has been done in Article 15 of the Constitution of India. It cannot, therefore, be gainsaid that the fathers of the Constitution gave this right to a person who is arrested absolutely and it cannot be fettered. The State, therefore, cannot legislate so as to take away or abridge that right.

It is evident that the provisions of Section 22 of the Saurashtra Children' Act, 1954 (Act No. XXI of 1954) are violative of Article 22(1) of the Constitution of India and are void to the extent that they deny a person who is arrested, a right to be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice, in any trial of the crime for which he is arrested.

A recent amendment to the Central Children's Act has done away with the restriction on the appearance of legal practitioners in the children's court while providing that special permission of the competent authority would be necessary in the cases before the Child Welfare Board.

In some jurisdictions, uncontrollable children, who are not classified as delinquents, are kept in institutions for neglected children. This creates additional problems in institutional administration. Those familiar with institutional care and treatment of children often come across uncontrollable children who are more difficult to handle than most delinquent children.

TRAINED PERSONNEL

The fundamental question of having adequately trained personnel has always been answered in the affirmative. Though the Acts are unmistakably clear about the constitution of juvenile courts, the special qualifications of those taking decisions regarding children even under the Central Act are unreliably vague. At the present stage of development, it is entirely necessary to emphasise the necessity for specially equipped judicial personnel even where the juvenile court functions on a part-time basis.

The West Bengal Children's Act provides for a State level advisory committee. Similar provisions are needed in all legislations pertaining to children. The committee could set up sub-committees dealing with buildings, education, vocational training, probation, after care and other treatment programmes. Such committees will enable informed persons interested in this field of work to contribute to the development of services for children under the various Children's Acts.

Though Children's Acts make provision for contribution by parents or guardians, these have been disappointingly ineffective. Such arrangements should be examined and amended to enable the close association of parents



and guardians with institutional services for children.

Children's Acts do not lay down a strictly uniform procedure for rapid inter-State transfer of children. The procedure could be simplified to enable officers of the directorate in charge of child welfare to send children swiftly from one State to another. Already, we have the Transfer of Prisoners Act implemented all over the country which provides for the transfer of prisoners from one jurisdiction to another. Discouraging problems encountered in the transfer of institutional inmates from one jurisdiction to another may be solved through an all-India legislation exhaustively covering inter-State transfer of inmates not only of institutions for children but also of institutions exclusively serving other types of inmates. Transfer should be considered at the request of parents, guardians or the children themselves.

Children's Acts provide for remand homes and certified schools. In some States, there are remand homes in almost all districts, but there are few certified schools. Because of uncomfortable overcrowding in certified schools, committed children are required to stay protractedly in remand homes awaiting admission to such long-term institutions. At the same time remand homes which are short-term institutions do not have comprehensive programmes for committed children. Legislation should wisely promote remand-cum-certified institutions in all districts and, if necessary, at the taluka level as well.

In some States, the remand home has only one officer who is designated as probation officer-cum-superintendent. Tedious investigation duties of the probation officer inevitably make it necessary for him to remain constantly outside the remand home with the disastrous result of having to leave children under the doubtful supervision of the lower staff who have no requisite training. Combining the remand home with the certified school would make it possible for the joint institution to have more senior personnel on the staff without the initial investment of additional funds.

A combined multipurpose institution at the district level serving as remand home and certified school will provide improved facilities to process children virtually close to their homes, instead of attempting their rehabilitation at far away centres. Uninterrupted contacts with families of children will thus be markedly improved. Communities too will thus be enabled to associate themselves with assisting the children, a majority of whom may belong to the district.

Institutions under Children's Acts are not diversified to the extent they should be. The pseudo-diversification curiously noticed is nothing more than disjointed fragmentation of services. When the proposed remand home-cum-certified school is brought into disciplined existence at the district level, it should be possible to develop after care services which are of direct help to the released inmates. The immediate presence of one more officer for after care would immensely help the rehabilitation of children.

Apart from integrating remand homes and certified schools at the district

and taluka levels, wherever possible, all other institutional and even non-institutional services for children should be centrally located in proximity on a common campus. Wherever the campus plan is in operation for a group of institutions for children, its augmented strength is derived not only from their physical closeness but from the full-time presence of varied professional personnel. The Acts and rules should broadly outline this stimulating pattern of development.

In difficult cases, where release on licence is not readily granted, the inadequate criterion of release is age or period of stay. Further, after care is all the more important especially for children who are not granted licence. The Acts should be amended so that children ill-equipped to face the world are not released without benefiting from the guidance of after care services.

MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN

In the conspicuous paucity of special institutions, mentally deficient children often receive care and training in institutions provided under the Children's Acts. However, even after they complete 18 years, these institutions are reluctantly obliged to keep them on as they have no other place to go to. Some institutions for mentally deficient children have inmates who are over 45 years old. This is not a pertinent issue for Children's Acts alone but should be examined in relation to amendment to the Lunacy Act.

The essential role of municipalities and district level authorities in intensive work under Children's Acts has not been clearly laid down as has been done in legislation pertaining to prevention of begging. Children's Acts should make it possible for involving them in the efficient administration of services for children.

Children's Acts provide for officers who will administer the services. They may or may not have professional training for work with children in general or with delinquent children. The Children's Acts should have specialists, at least at the assistant director level, who have special qualifications in the design and construction of buildings, education, vocational training, employment, probation, after care, other forms of treatment, etc.

Provisions of the Children's Acts, particularly those relating to action against adults who make children beg, are not in strict conformity with the relevant sections of the Indian Penal Code and legislation pertaining to prevention of begging. Amendments are manifestly necessary to exercise control over persons obstinately engaged in promoting begging by children.

In the field of institutional administration, the Acts should specify guidelines regarding discipline and punishment. These could be fully elaborated under the rules. Vital areas are blindly ignored in the enthusiasm to make documents read exceptionally progressive, but when actual implementation is left to persons with limited training, practice tends to be unscientific.

Detailed rules should be drawn up and these should be revised as and when

need arises. In making rules under the Children's Acts, the harassing problems of the lower socio-economic groups must be considered. Rules are often made without regard to the difficulties experienced by helpless families who are compelled to use these services. For ready reference, the Act and rules incorporating the latest amendments may be distributed free to all workers in the field.

For the proper implementation of services under the Children's Acts, it is necessary to prepare a detailed manual. At present, prescribed rules provide only limited guidance. The rules are not integrated and are framed to partially cover one or more services under Children's Acts. The manual should be comprehensive enough to serve not only as a manual of operations but also as a training manual.

Even among those who are supposed to be engaged in work under the Children's Acts, there is woeful ignorance regarding legislation, rules and procedures. Some do not even possess copies of the Acts and rules. It should be laid down that all those who are associated in paid or voluntary capacity with services for children should give evidence of their growing familiarity with the Acts and rules.

LICENSING OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

The Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Act of 1956 passed by Parliament and which extends to the whole of India is of special relevance as it provides for the licensing of institutions for children and for matters incidental thereto. Bringing the legislation into force has been left to the State Governments. The Act applies only to privately managed institutions. Similar Government institutions are excluded from its purview. The Licensing Act defines child as a boy or girl who has not completed the age of 18 and a woman as a female who has completed the age of 18.

The Act is not applicable to hostels, or boarding houses attached to or controlled or recognised by educational institutions, or any protective home established under the Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956.

After the commencement of the Licensing Act, no person shall establish or maintain an institution except under and in accordance with the conditions of a licence granted under the Act. Breach of any of the conditions of the licence may lead to the revocation of licence and the institution shall cease to function. Rules under the Act provide the form of application for licence and the particulars to be contained therein; the form of licence and the conditions subject to which such licence may be granted; the management of institutions; the reception, care, protection and welfare of women and children in institutions, including all matters relating to their diet, clothing, accommodation, training and general conduct; inspection of the institutions; maintenance of registers and accounts and submission of returns and audit of such accounts; the discharge from institutions of women and children and

their transfer from one institution to another; the manner of filing appeals under the Act and the time within which such appeals shall be filed; the manner of service of orders and notices under the Act; and any other matter which is to be or may be prescribed.

The Licensing Act is implemented in Maharashtra but, to avoid duplication of work, its scope was restricted by an amendment to the Bombay Children's Act (BCA) so as to exclude the application of the Licensing Act to institutions under the Bombay Children's Act. Section 6(3) of BCA now reads :

The Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Act, 1956, shall not apply to any industrial school established, any industrial school or educational institution certified, any place declared as a remand home, any institution or association recognised as approved place or fit person institution, or any voluntary home recognised, under this Act.

Parliament later passed the Orphanages and Other Charitable Home (Supervision and Control) Act, 1960 to provide for the supervision and control of orphanages, homes for neglected women or children and other like institutions, and for matters connected therewith. This Act too extends to the whole of India and its implementation is left to State Governments.

The following definitions are found in the Act: 'child' means a boy or girl who has not completed the age of eighteen years; 'women' means a female who has completed the age of eighteen years; and 'certificate' means the certificate of recognition granted under the Act.

Nothing in the Act shall apply to any hostel or boarding house attached to, or controlled or recognised by, an educational institution; or any protective home established under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956; or any reformatory, certified or other school, or any home or work-house, governed by any enactment for the time being in force.

The board of control under the Act shall consist of three members of the State legislature, five members of the managing committees in the State, the officer-in-charge of social welfare in the State, and six members to be nominated by the State Government, of whom not more than one shall be a member of Parliament from the State and not less than three shall be women. The chairman of the board shall be elected by the members of the board from among themselves.

It shall be the duty of the board to supervise and control generally all matters relating to the management of the homes in accordance with the provisions of the Act, and exercise such other powers and perform such other functions as may be prescribed by or under the Act. The board has the power to give directions to the manager of a recognised home and to inspect any home.

The funds of the board shall consist of contributions, subscriptions,

donations or bequests made to it by any person, and grants made to it by the State Government or any local or other public body.

After the commencement of the Act, no person shall maintain or conduct any home except under, and in accordance with, the conditions of a certificate of recognition granted under the Act. The board may revoke the certificate if it is satisfied that the home is not being conducted in accordance with the conditions laid down in the certificate, or the management of the home is being persistently carried on in an unsatisfactory manner, or is being carried on in a manner highly prejudicial to the moral and physical wellbeing of the inmates, or the home has in the opinion of the board otherwise rendered itself unsuitable for that purpose.

If, after consultation with the board, the State Government is satisfied that the circumstances in relation to any class of homes or any home are such that it is necessary or expedient so to do, it may exempt such class of homes or home, as the case may be, from the operation of all or any of the provisions of the Act or of any rule or regulation made thereunder.

The State Government may make rules to carry out the purpose of this Act. The board too may, with the previous approval of the State Government, make regulations not inconsistent with the Act and the rules made thereunder for enabling it to perform its functions.

As from the date of the coming into force of the Act, in any State the Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Act, 1956, or any other Act corresponding to the Act in force in that State, immediately before such commencement, shall stand repealed.

THE ORPHANAGES ACT

The Orphanages Act is on the statute book for the past nineteen years but it has been implemented only in Kerala. The Act has provided for exempting institutions such as those under the Children's Acts. It also enables greater public participation in the planning and organisation of institutional services.

Intricate problems in the field of child welfare arise not only from want of legislation but also from want of administrative action. Children too need be firmly convinced and positively converted to the idea that they are being subjected to an operation which is downright honest. They are not inclined to develop faith in a programme when they realise that there is an appalling gap between precept and practice.



The Problem of Neglected Children and Youthful Offenders

K.F. Rustamji

In the silent gloam of the temple
Children come out to play.
God watches from above,
And forgets the priest.

—TAGORE

ONE RESULT of the non-registration of crime by the police to avoid criticism of its increase in the legislature, is that we never become aware of any problem till we find that it has gone out of control and overwhelmed us. An excellent example of that is juvenile delinquency.

Not only are the figures of juvenile delinquency supplied each year by the diligent Bureau of Police Research and Development useless, there is an additional complication that we have never attempted to define the term. We accepted the western definition, but found that it did not fit the Indian milieu. Yet, we accepted the term juvenile delinquency for crime committed by children. At the same time we talked the language of the western criminologists regarding causation and control. The muddle is a common one—eastern minds and western thought.

In the west, juvenile delinquency was mainly the result of affluence and changing social mores, which weakened family ties, and led children into misbehaviour; which sometimes resulted in serious crimes like gang warfare. Drugs, music of a raucous, repetitive type, and a whole lot of what you could call youth culture, flowered in the '50s, out of that drop-out 'hippie' generation, and they became the leaders in fashion, in art, and as activists in the anti-Vietnam war even in the political sphere. In later years, they grew up a disappointed and bored generation with a high suicide rate. The new generation of the young are not as prominent as the earlier lot. Perhaps, parents, children and school teachers, and all those connected with children, have adapted themselves to changed times.

POVERTY AT THE BASE OF CRIMES

If we take the whole spectrum of juvenile delinquency in India—from copying in examination, through eve-teasing, hooliganism on the campus, to the field of coal pilferage, prohibition crime and smuggling, pick-pocketing and 'dadagiri', you will find one basic cause running through all these activities—it is poverty, not affluence. Even in campus unrest, there is a streak of it though not as prominent as it is in pilferage, prostitution and petty crime.

In one way or another juvenile delinquency covers the boys and girls who will be citizens of tomorrow. But it is a vast subject, embracing as it does education, employment, family planning, health, migration, development of urbanised areas, and so many other factors which affect the care and well-being of the young.

Suddenly the enormous size of the problem of children has come before us. We see children picking food out of dustbins in Calcutta—collecting paper scrap, like ants working assiduously, in the streets of Delhi. Prohibition and illicit distillation have opened up forbidden areas of employment in Madras and other places. Steadily, the number of uncared children in the streets of our cities is increasing as migration for employment occurs, and urbanisation runs amuck in our semi-urbanised areas. We have reached a stage when pilferage has ceased to be a registered crime. That seems to be the only way a large number of children can survive.

Can we make out a systematic plan to deal with the problem? In the first place, the method adopted in the Children's Acts of putting all types of children requiring institutional support in the same place must be changed. There should be separate institutions for neglected or abandoned children, separate ones for those that have committed crime. As regards uncontrollable children, they should not be placed with the neglected ones. They might go with the offenders, but perhaps the best course would be not to institutionalise them at all. Parents have a responsibility in this regard which the state cannot take over. Children that are suffering from mental ailments obviously require to be separated from the other groups.

We need to concentrate our attention on two types of institutions:

1. for neglected or abandoned children; and
2. for children convicted and sentenced to an approved institution.

The first type, for abandoned and neglected children, could be on the pattern of Mother Teresa's homes in Calcutta or the Seva Samajam schools of Madras. The state should support, not run them. They can be run much better by public spirited people, who do not fritter away resources on staff and buildings.

In my view it is a crime to commit to an adult jail a young offender, caught in the coils of the law for a minor offence. You find them in large numbers in

jails all over the country—boys who have been found ‘loitering’ at railway stations, travelling without ticket or smuggling rice or liquor. They linger on as undertrials for months, and the worst feature of such imprisonment is that it removes the fear of jail. There are some types besides to whom life in jail presents an opportunity to bully, to ravish younger persons; and as they are the ones who are depended upon to control the others, they get several facilities from the jail staff. For them life in jail seems to be easier than life outside.

The fact that the probation system has not been developed in several States is the cause of innumerable young persons being damaged by our jails. The law regarding first offenders and young offenders can hardly be applied if you have no probation, no certified schools, even no juvenile courts.

And then we talk about the International Year of the Child.

The Chingleput Approved School in Tamil Nadu is an approved school which can be developed as a model for the whole country, provided its industries are remodelled on modern lines. Young offenders in addition should be apprenticed under the law to public and private sector industries at the age of 16, after they have shown some aptitude for the industry in question.

JUVENILE COURTS

In the last few years, several of the juvenile courts have been going wrong on one count—they have begun to adopt the procedures of normal trials. I believe that it would be best not to have a legally trained person as a juvenile court judge. What we require is a mother — the type that would shout at the culprit, scold him, lash him with her tongue, make him cry, and then take him into an embrace—and love and guide him. The worst types of offenders will still commit crime. The best and the second best will be afraid of hurting the mother, of losing faith with her.

I am also of the view that best work with children is done by women—whether it is the nuns, or social workers of Bombay and Madras.

And the best persons for organising children’s work are the women in the IAS. I have seen some of them in south Indian States—dedicated, efficient, knowing their job; and inspecting, criticising and developing institutions in the right way.

□

Parental Influences in Juvenile Delinquency

K.D. Sikka

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY is rather an imprecise term to convey clear meaning. Quite frequently it is used as a handy label to pin on any youngster displaying some degree of violating societal norms; sometimes its use is limited to denote only that category of young persons, under a certain age, who have been referred to the courts for acts in violation of the criminal laws of the state. Other times, the term includes, in addition to the criminal offences, conduct such as being ungovernable, desertion from home, truancy from school, association with undesirable companions, etc. However, for the discussion in this paper, delinquency is any act, course of conduct, or situation which can be taken cognisance of by a juvenile court or similar competent authority, whether in fact it comes to be attended there or by some other source or indeed remains unattended.

What causes delinquency? There is no simple and straightforward answer available, though many physical, emotional, and environmental reasons have been identified, which in their interactions are considered at the helm. However, among the various environmental factors like the family, the school, the neighbourhood, the class structure, etc., the contributions of the family appear quite substantial in the etiologic influences woven into the tapestry of delinquency. It must however be emphasised at the outset that all these, with their various dimensions, are rather intertwined, concurrently acting and reacting upon each other. We cannot consider any one of them in any compartmental fashion though the following discussion of the role of the family may give that sort of impression. Actually, the problems, created or not handled by either of them, can have repercussions on the others.

ROLE OF THE FAMILY

Family is the first crucial group in the life of the child and a springboard for his social and personal growth. In the apt words of Sutherland and Cressey, "no child is so constituted at birth that it must inevitably become a delinquent or that it must inevitably be law-abiding, and the family is the first agency to affect the direction which a particular child will take".¹ Many

¹Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey, D.R., *Principles of Criminology*, The Times of India Press, Bombay, 1965, p. 171.

interacting aspects of family life, however, are involved in the formation of the cumulative atmosphere which may affect the behaviour of the child one way or the other. Below, some of the important ones are identified and their impacts analysed.

Broken Home

Mother and father are generally considered the two wheels of a family cart which cannot move smoothly when either of them is removed or when relations between them are damaged. The structural break may be because of death, divorce/separation, or desertion. Concern with the broken homes as one of the explanations for delinquency has persisted over the years on the belief that a broken family tends to rear children with sick personalities and sick personalities have unusual difficulty in conforming to social rules. A number of investigations have pointed towards the high incidence of structural breaks in the family background of delinquent youths. The United States Children's Bureau* found broken homes in 36 per cent of boys' cases and 50 per cent in girls' cases disposed of in sixty-four juvenile courts in 1936. Among children committed to institutions there has been noted even higher proportion from broken homes. In 1923 the United States' Bureau of the Census† reported that 56 per cent were from broken homes. Lumpkin‡ found that in Wisconsin's correctional schools for girls 63.5 per cent were from broken homes. The Gluecks in their study (500 *Criminal Careers*, published in 1930) of 500 youths committed to the Massachusetts Reformatory discovered "in sixty per cent an abnormal, frequently unwholesome home situation during the youths' childhood by reasons of the long or complete absence of one or both parents."²

In the Indian setting, the two follow-up studies conducted in Maharashtra by the Indian Council of Social Welfare, revealed that out of 229 delinquents³ and 305 'non-delinquents'⁴ traced and interviewed, 55 per cent and 61 per cent respectively belonged to broken homes prior to their institutionalisation. While it is very probable that the factor of the family break may have strongly influenced judges in the direction of institutional commitment, the collateral evidence on this point is also available from researches based on juvenile

* Children's Bureau, *Juvenile Court Statistics*, U.S. Department of Labour, Washington, 1939.

† Bureau of Census, *Children Under Institutional Care*, Washington, 1927.

‡ Lumpkin, K.D.P., "Parental Conditions of Wisconsin Girl Delinquents," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1932.

²Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., *Of Delinquency and Crime*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1974, p. 63.

³Indian Council of Social Welfare, *Impact of Institutions on Juvenile Delinquents*, United Asia Publications, 12, Rampart Row, Bombay, 1969, p. 22.

⁴Indian Council of Social Welfare, *Impact of Institutions on Children*, United Asia Publications, 12, Rampart Row, Bombay, 1973, p. 45.



court records.* Sheth reports that the incidence of broken homes was to the tune of 47.4 per cent among the offenders brought before the juvenile court, Bombay,⁵ during the period 1941-1956; one-fifth of these offenders from broken homes had lost both the parents. Also, condensing and adapting from S.C. Varma's *The Social and Economic Background of Juvenile and Adolescent Delinquency in Lucknow and Kanpur* (Doctoral dissertation) Chandra⁶ recounts that among the 300 cases of delinquents studied, 150 each from the two cities, during 1956-1959, only in 120 cases were both parents alive; in 60 cases both mother and father were dead.

On the other hand, Sutherland and Cressey comment that although various research reports indicate that delinquents coming from broken homes range from 30 to 60 per cent, the percentages rather tend to cluster around 40 per cent. But such statistics are meaningless except in comparison with similar percentages for the non-delinquent children or for the total population.⁷ Looking at the results of the comparative studies, however, one legitimately cannot feel sure whether broken home is or is not closely linked with delinquency. For instance, "Slowson† found a ratio of 1.5 to 1 in comparing the institutions for delinquents in New York state with the public school in New York city which had children of the lowest social status."⁸ Shaw and McKay compared boys against whom official delinquency petitions were filed in the juvenile court of Chicago in 1929 with other boys drawn from the public school population of the same city areas and concluded that broken homes were 36.1 per cent for the school group against 42.5 per cent for the delinquent boys,⁹ a ratio of 1 to 1.18‡, indicating that the broken home as such does not

*"In a study of 966 cases presenting special problems of diagnosis, referred by the Boston Juvenile Court to Dr. William Healy and his associates at the Judge Baker Foundation, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck found that 48 per cent came from broken homes".

Shulman, H.M., "The Family and Juvenile Delinquency", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Jan. 1949, p. 24.

⁵Sheth, H., *Juvenile Delinquency in an Indian Setting*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1961, p. 199.

⁶Chandra, S., *Sociology of Deviation in India*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1967, p. 48.

⁷Sutherland and Cressey, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

†Slowson, J., *The Delinquent Boy*, Badger, Boston, 1926.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁹Monahan, T.P., "Family Status and the Delinquent Child: A Reappraisal and Some New Findings", in Giallombardo, R. (Ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency: A Book of Readings*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1966, pp. 211-212.

‡Shaw, C.R. and McKay, H.D., "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency" in *Report on the Causes of Crime*, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Washington, 1937.

These results were however obtained by Shaw and McKay after the public school population data were adjusted for age and ethnic composition to make them comparable with the delinquent group. The original observed rate of broken homes, however, was only 29.0 per cent among the school boys. The 'corrective' standardisation method used has been questioned by Toby [Toby, J., "The Differential Impact of Family Disorganisation," in

(Continued on next page)

seem to be a significant causal factor. Hirchi's analysis of self report delinquency studies¹⁰ also reveals that there is no dearth of boys from broken homes in these samples and the relationship between the broken home and delinquency is rather very weak. Conversely, Burt is reported to have found about twice as many broken homes in a delinquent group in England as compared to public school children of the same age and social class.¹¹ The Gluecks, while comparing the families of the matched five hundred delinquents and five hundred non-delinquents, in their study entitled *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency* (published in 1950) discovered again an excessive incidence of broken homes among the delinquent group, i.e., 60.4 per cent against 34.2 per cent among non-delinquents control group¹² a ratio of 1.8 to 1.

Even if it may not be possible to reach the confirmed conclusion that structural break in the family is directly responsible for delinquency, it cannot however be denied that more delinquents do come from broken homes. Further, the actual breaking up of the home, except in cases of death, is preceded by much disruption, disorganisation, and tension. And it is more so that these negative elements could be the real causative factors the eventual break-up being only the final step in the long line of disruptive activity. "That so many children surpass this handicap (however) is an exemplification of their own resilience and a demonstration of the presence of other forces acting towards the child's socialisation in the community, rather than a proof of the unimportance of the normal family life in the development of norms of conduct or the unimportance of the handicaps experienced by the child in the broken home."¹³

The interpersonal conditions of the family relationships are more important nonetheless than the physical break in the family. Child guidance clinic and juvenile court experiences demonstrate that not very many children become delinquent where the members of a family have successfully maintained love and affection for one another. Also, "a striking relation to the clinic's success in dealing with children were the marital adjustments of the parents, the emotional tone of the home, and the behaviour and attitudes of parents toward the child."¹⁴ A home formally intact but daily and nightly rent asunder by quarrelling parents is very likely to prove more injurious than a one-parent family with adequate relationships. And though a happy home

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Knudten, R.D. and Schafer, S. (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency: A Reader*, Random House, New York, 1970. p. 183] and others and they feel that Shaw-Mckay data are also susceptible to reverse interpretation.

¹⁰Hirschi, T., *Causes of Delinquency*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1969, pp. 242-243.

¹¹Monahan, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹²Glueck and Glueck, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹³Monahan, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁴Shulman, H.M., "The Family and Juvenile Delinquency", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, January 1949, p. 28.



relationship is no sure guarantee to overcome all the negative characteristics of the school and the neighbourhood, in emotionally disharmonious families children too often get 'pushed' from home because of these disturbances, to seek outside contacts for resolving feelings of insecurity and frustration rather than be 'pulled' by outside attractions.

Working Mothers

Another factor which has sometimes been advanced as one of the major causes of delinquency is the mother who is employed outside her home. This is on the assumption that a young child needs his mother's constant attention to assure his proper emotional as well as physical development and this cannot become available when she is away for a substantial part of the day and returns with nervous and physical exhaustion. Further, in the adolescent years when supervision becomes more important, maternal employment reduces its effectivity thereby unduly exposing children to delinquent influences. However, conflicting views are advocated, some writers contending that mothers who go to work and are not at home in time to greet their children returning from school are a major cause of juvenile crime while others feel that there has been no increase in juvenile delinquency due to mothers taking up employment.¹⁵

Though traditionally the employed mother was considered as a deviant from social customs and good family policy as the unemployed father, these days the percentage of mothers who are employed is increasing markedly. Not that the mothers did not take up full-time employment in the past but they did so particularly because family needed additional income. In the past, she often was the mother without a husband or the wife of an unemployable or intermittently employed man. Economic need is still a motivation but not necessarily always out of dire necessity; it is quite often a symbol of aspiration and upward social mobility. In this regard a working mother's economic contribution can be considered rather an integrative and stabilising influence in the family since it may connote a desire for providing greater family security, continued education of children, a summer vacation or any one of a number of things thought to be of benefit to all members of the family.¹⁶

Research evidence available to date also shows that there is very slight relationship, if at all, between delinquency and the mother being at work. Mentioning here only two of the studies, Yadkin and Holme quote Ferguson and Cunnison¹⁷ "that the fact that the mother was out at work

¹⁵Yadkin, S. and Holme, A., "Working Mothers and Delinquent Children", in Mays, J.B. (Ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency, the Family and the Social Group: A Reader*, Longman Group Limited, London, 1972, p. 183.

¹⁶Cavan, R.S. and Ferdinand, T.N., *Juvenile Delinquency*, J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1975, pp. 10, 211-212.

¹⁷Ferguson T. and Cunnison, J., *The Young Wage Earner*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1951.

did not appear to be of any great importance in relation to delinquency; the overall proportion of boys convicted between their eighth and seventeenth birthdays was lower among the sons of mothers who were out at work, a slight excess among these boys during school years being more than compensated by a lower figure after leaving school."¹⁸ Re-analysing the results of Gluecks' *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* which had found evidence of a deleterious influence on the family and on children of certain mothers working outside the home, Maccoby* is reported to have applied, instead of the Gluecks' two-way correlation, a three-way comparison—i.e., employment status of the mother, the quality of supervision of the child, and the percentage of delinquents. On this basis, 19 per cent of the boys whose mothers were regularly employed and whose supervision was rated good were delinquent. On the other hand, 32 per cent of those whose mothers were housewives were in the delinquent group. His interpretation, and which reinforces the commonsense view, has been that if the mother remains at home but does not keep track of her child, he is far more likely to become a delinquent than if he is closely watched. Furthermore, if a mother who works arranges adequate care for the child in her absence, he is no more likely to be delinquent than the adequately supervised child of a mother who does not work.¹⁹ Hence, we can reasonably state that it is the adequate supervision and attention, whether by the mother herself or by an acceptable substitute, rather than the fact of her employment which is relevant as one of the crucial insulating resources against delinquency.

Socialisation

Socialisation is the process through which the child becomes aware of the basic values of his society and acquires the attitudes characteristic of it. And there is general consensus that early family training influences strongly the inculcation of these values and attitudes which on their part have influential impact on the future behaviour of the child. The family is the first 'school' for socialisation and the social-psychological literature emphasises vehemently that "early childhood experiences, especially those within the family, determine in great part how the youngster will be moulded and how he will eventually adopt to the external environment".²⁰ Depending upon the emotional stability of the relationships of parents and the patterns of disciplining and guiding, the child will learn to handle the pressures and responsibilities

¹⁸Yadkin and Holme, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

*Maccoby, E.E., "Effects Upon Children of their Mothers' Outside Employment", in Bell, N.W. and Vogel, E.F. (Eds.), *A Modern Introduction to the Family*, The Free Press, New York, 1960.

¹⁹Robinson, S.M., *Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control*, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1960, p. 114.

²⁰Trojanowicz, R.C., *Juvenile Delinquency: Concepts and Control*, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973, p. 65.



of growing up, inside and outside the home. Social education within the family is firmly rooted in the emotional ties which link the various members together and it is primarily from the warm and supporting parents that the child learns the reciprocity of love and affection. When the parents are rejecting, indifferent, or inconsistent in the sense of sometimes overindulgent and at other times unduly strict, the child feels very insecure. When he never knows how his parents are going to react to what he does and finds that they are at times angry, sometimes interested, and at other times uninterested, he is at a peculiar risk. His problems are further aggravated when each parent reacts with completely contradictory valuations, or when one condones and the other punishes with undue harshness.

The factor of family discipline has been particularly stressed in his London study by Burt and the Gluecks, in their 500 *Criminal Careers*, referred to earlier. Burt believed that defective family disciplinary pattern existed in his delinquent sample nearly seven times as frequently as in the non-delinquents, and the Gluecks found poor discipline in 70 per cent of the homes of the delinquents they studied.²¹

Home discipline fails most frequently because of parental rejection, indifference and neglect, and these conditions arise especially from lack of love and affection for the child. Looking at the emotional tone of family inter-relationships from three dimensions, *i.e.*, between the parents, between father and child, and mother and child the picture which emerges very strongly substantiates the importance of cohesiveness of the family as a significant bulwark against delinquency. Two of the few American studies quoted by Coleman and Broen are mentioned here in this context.

In a study of delinquent and non-delinquent boys Andry (1962) found that the great majority of delinquent boys felt rejected by their fathers but loved by their mothers, while the non-delinquents felt loved equally by both parents. Andry also noted that the delinquent boy typically tended to dislike his father. In the backfound of a group of 26 aggressively delinquent boys, Bandura and Walters (1959) delineated a pattern in which father rejection was combined with inconsistent handling of the boy by both parents. To complicate the pathogenic family picture, the father typically used physically punitive methods of discipline, thus augmenting the hostility by the boy already felt for him. The end result of such a pattern is a hostile, defiant, inadequately socialised boy who lacks normal inner controls and tends to act out his aggressive impulses.²²

Further, to explain why so often one child of a family became delinquent

²¹Tappan, P.W., *Juvenile Delinquency*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 137.

²²Coleman, J.C. and Broen, Jr. W.E., *Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life*, Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1974, pp. 383-84.

while another did not, Healy and Bronner,²³ the former a psychiatrist and the latter a psychologist, studied family interrelationships (rather than the individuals as their focus) of the families brought before the juvenile courts in three cities of the U.S.A., Boston, Detroit, and New Haven. To be eligible for the study, the families of the delinquents had also to have a non-delinquent child, not more than two years older or younger and of the same sex as the delinquent. It was a sort of 'action research' in the sense that these families were offered counselling services to bring them into normal contact with the research staff; it was believed that one could not really know, much less understand, the dynamics of family interrelationships in a single interview. Among the 105 families studied, there were dissimilarities of income, church attendance, and discipline at home, from lax to strict. And yet in each of these families there was a non-delinquent as well as a delinquent child. Among the children there were no marked differences with respect to intelligence, educational achievement or physical prowess. The counselling clinic's contacts revealed, however, that in 91 per cent of cases the delinquent child felt thwarted and rejected even though in many instances the parents were unaware either of their own role in the delinquent's concept of himself or of his feelings towards his family.

Among the Indian studies, Khanna²⁴ analysed family interrelationships of 85 serious truants from basic primary schools of Lucknow whom he considered as pre-delinquents, and found that in 61.18 per cent of their families the relations between the parents were disharmonious, leading to frequent quarrels and often beating of the mother by the father. Though Varma's²⁵ observations that out of 148 families (unbroken homes + homes with one step-parent) of 300 delinquents in Lucknow and Kanpur in 88 (59.5 per cent) of them relations between the parents were cordial, the attitudes of delinquents towards their fathers and/or mothers (including one-parent families) were:

	<i>Hostile</i>	<i>Indifferent</i> (per cent)	<i>Liking</i>
Father	46	33	21
Mother	13	20	67

Again, in the study of 300 young runaways in the custody of the juvenile court, Bombay, Kapadia and Pillai²⁶ discovered that among the 217 children

²³Healy, W., and Bronner, A.F., *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936 (Reprinted in 1957)

²⁴Chandra, S. *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

²⁶Kapadia, K.M. and Pillai, S.D., *Young Runaways*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1971, pp. 54, 62, 68-69.



who had fathers, in 70.5 per cent of them unkind treatment by father appeared to be one of the most important reasons for their running away from home. The attitude of the mothers, however, was found to be generally warmer; out of 236 mothers, 58 per cent were considered affectionate. Further, excluding the non-parent (34) and one-parent (67) families, relationships between the two parents were characterised by discords among 57.4 per cent of these 195 families.

Although it cannot be said that all delinquency is because of parental disharmony, the great importance of family relationships *vis-a-vis* delinquency cannot be doubted. To some extent the love of one parent may help to offset the neglect or harshness of the other, the loving mother being of special significance in training her children towards conforming behaviour, but the appropriate roles of both the mother and the father are quite important in the socialising process.

Parental Conduct Models

Of the two sides of the coin of identification, one is the loving relationship between the parents themselves as also that between the parents and the child and the other is the kind of models presented by parents to their children. Turning our discussion to the parental conduct models as far as delinquent activities are concerned, Sutherland believed that criminal behaviour was learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication, the principal part of this learning occurring within intimate personal groups. To put it simply, when an individual is surrounded by persons who invariably define the legal codes he would assimilate this surrounding culture. On the other hand, when he is surrounded by persons whose definitions are favourable to the violation of the legal codes, he would imbibe these orientations.²⁷ What in effect is implied here is that criminal behaviour is a learned behaviour as is the conventional behaviour. And without underestimating the roles of school and neighbourhood, since plenty of learning takes place at home, the criminal activities of parents of which the child comes to know leave a solid imprint on him for imitation or 'emulation'.

Adducing studies to this point of view, the Gluecks, for example, found that 80.7 per cent of the 500 delinquent women* had had criminal or deviant parents.²⁸ In their later study† which compared 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents, the observations were that 66.2 per cent of the fathers of the delinquent children as compared with 32 per cent of the fathers of non-delinquents had a history of criminality, while 44.8 per cent of mothers of the

²⁷Sutherland and Cressey, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

* Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., *Five Hundred Delinquent Women*, New York, 1934.

²⁸Schafer and Knudten, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

† Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, Cambridge, 1950.

former as compared with but 15 per cent of the mothers of the latter had some history of criminality.²⁹

In a very recent study³⁰ of 56 families which were referred to the Social Services Department of Birmingham for malfunctioning in terms of rent arrears, eviction, problems of school attendance, debts, etc., Wilson observes that "there is a very strong suggestion that parental criminality correlates positively with juvenile delinquency".

On the other hand, McCords³¹ reanalysed the case records* of Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, and checked their later criminal records. They concentrated on three interacting variables in the familial environment of the boys, *i.e.*, the role models of the parents, the attitudes of the parents towards the child, and the methods of discipline used by parents. The following were some of the conclusions:

1. The effects of a criminal father on criminality in the son is largely dependent upon other factors within the family.
2. If paternal rejection, absence of maternal warmth, or maternal deviance is coupled with a criminal role model, the son is extremely likely to become criminal.
3. Consistent discipline in combination with love from at least one parent seems to offset the criminogenic influence of a criminal father.

Looking at these researches and from the welter of other available evidence, even if it is not possible to lay any relative emphasis on one or the other factor involved in parental socialisation of the child and genesis of delinquent behaviour, nonetheless we will still be fully justified in recognising their important influence. Growing up is difficult for any child and it is also a testing time for his parents. As trustees of their children's welfare, and not as owners, a great responsibility is cast on parents for communicating and transmitting the basic socio-ethical values of society of which they all are members. The child when being brought up in a chaotic emotional set-up, an atmosphere of low moral tone and erratic discipline from harsh to none at all, he will be severely handicapped in coping with the demands and pressures of adolescence and adulthood.

²⁹Sheth, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18.

³⁰Wilson, H., "Juvenile Delinquency, Parental Criminality and Social Handicap", *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1975, pp. 241-50.

³¹McCord J. and McCord, W., "The Effects of Parental Role Model on Criminality," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1958, pp. 66-75.

* Observations were available of the day-to-day behaviour of 253 boys and their families, on an average for a five-year period. Twenty years later (the boys averaged seven years of age when the data collection was first started while their average age was twenty-seven when their criminal records were gathered) the criminal records of these boys, then adults, were examined.

Economic Status

Poverty in the family has been another perennially popular explanation for delinquency. A great deal of affirmative evidence in showing a close relationship between the two comes from almost all studies of 'convicted' offenders, both adults and juveniles. For instance, the Gluecks, in their three series* of offenders found that as far as economic status went, the number of families below the 'comfortable level'† rose to the tune of 71.3, 71.2, and 91.3 per cent respectively.³² Sheth, in her study concluded that "about 70 per cent of offenders came from poor and very poor strata".³³ *Crime in India*, 1973, (pp. 108-112) records that out of the 127,742 juveniles (7-21 years) apprehended for criminal law violations during the year, the information regarding economic status was available in 123,248 families: income in respect of 83 per cent of them was below Rs. 150 per month and there were only 452 juveniles belonging to the income group of Rs. 1,000 and above per month. Again, out of the total admission of 304 boys during 1974-1977 at the Chembur Children's Home, Mankhurd, Bombay³⁴ the income level of the families of only 27(9%) was Rs. 150 and above per month. Such studies, however, have used police, court, or institutional records and although these bases may be adequate, within certain limitations, for an examination of 'official' delinquency or crime, they evidently cannot be considered reliable as an index of 'delinquent behaviour' in the general population.

It is also repeatedly said, and correctly so, that though most adjudicated delinquents belong to the lower economic class, the majority of the poor children do not become delinquents. Again, the conditions of affluence‡ are no sure safeguard against delinquency. Nonetheless, it will have to be recognised that although poverty *per se* cannot be the inevitable cause of delinquency, the economic factors are important. Poverty can engender

*1. *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, 1934.

2. *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*, 1930.

3. *Five Hundred Delinquent Women*, 1934.

† 'Comfortable level' was defined as possession of sufficient surplus to enable a family to maintain itself for four months without going on relief.

³²Sutherland and Cressey, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

³³Sheth, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

³⁴Children's Aid Society, Bombay, *Annual Reports*, 1974-75, 1975-76, 1976-77.

‡ Economic growth in western countries while raising the living standard does not seem to have reduced crime rates. On the contrary, the preponderance of crimes against property is considered indicative of the tendency of these rates to rise in the most affluent countries. One view is that there "people steal, not because they are starving, but because they are envious.... Paradoxically though, the trend toward increasing equality in the distribution of consumer goods generates expectations of further equality. (And when expectations are rising faster than the standard of living, the greater availability of consumer goods makes for greater than less dissatisfaction.

Toby, J., "Affluence and Adolescent Crime" in Cavan, R.S. (Ed.) *Readings in Juvenile Delinquency*, Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1975, p. 119.



anti-social activities

by its ultimate action, through ways often circuitous than plain, upon the inner mental life of the potential offenders. Unsatisfactory human relations emanate from destitution and poverty and the feel of inadequacy, frustration and emotional insecurity play their part in producing delinquency. It may cause under-nourishment and poor physical health which, in turn, may lead to a lowered mental resistance to the temptations that come one's way. Poverty-stricken families have very little choice in the selection of residential locality. Usually they live in slums where professional adult criminals concentrate, where living conditions are congested and play-grounds are either few or altogether absent, and where houses are too small to afford the comfort and privacy requisite for the development of self-respecting personality.³⁵

Evidently, because of poverty and poor circumstances, the options of the children get severely limited. In families, generally larger than the average, with little living room and inadequate facilities, the children can become unwanted and driven to seek their recreations on the streets. The daily budgeting battle, often giving rise to frayed tempers between husband and wife, when there is very limited money to provide for the minimum basic necessities of food, clothing, education, etc., impose extraordinary strains on the family. The parents in such situation can take little or no interest in their children, even often to the point of neglecting them, although they may have affection for them. In such settings of extreme material shortages, and unbuffered by the parental care, attention, and guidance, children grow up in really chill wind. Further, because of lack of money, very often the reasonable demands of the school-going child are scoffed at and education becomes the first casualty. Khandekar, in her analysis of the reasons for dropping out from school, in Bombay, found that out of 390 respondents, 162 (41.5%) indicated the inability of their parents to continue providing necessary clothes, books, stationery, etc., as the principal reason.³⁶ Dropping out means more leisure and more free time may mean diminishing adult supervision as well as increased scope for developing undesirable associates.

Though poverty in itself may not be the sole culprit, the socio-economic accompaniments of poverty definitely have the capacity to lead a juvenile into committing delinquent acts. It cannot be said that the environment of poverty makes everyone a delinquent since there are plenty of people who come from such surroundings and grow up straight. But poverty does different things to different people and for quite a few of them its pressures can be among the important etiological variables.

³⁵Sheth, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

³⁶Khandekar, M., "A Study of Drop-Outs", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1974, p. 378.



IN PROSPECT

During the present century though the behavioural sciences have no doubt made considerable progress in understanding motivations and pressures behind behaviour, there are still many lacunae to be filled. Researchers have come up with suggestions which seem to fit parts of the puzzle of delinquency but conclusions have not always been consistent on the various facets of causation. Particularly in our country the indigenous effort in understanding the phenomenon has been very insufficient: at least the conclusions put forward by western authors should be tested for their validity in our milieu. Although it seems legitimate to accept that deviations from normal family settings as broken homes, working mothers, faulty socialisation processes and parental models as well as insufficient income to provide for basic family needs can have dangerous influences on children there is an urgent need to judiciously put these into some kind of coherent order where different weights can be assigned to them depending upon the contributions they make to delinquent behaviour. Side by side, the state, and with its help private organisations, need to step in a big way to establish many more agencies like Neighbourhood Houses where sufficient space and activities are available nearer home for children and counselling services for them and their families. To at least prevent many of the school-going children from dropping out 'free education' will have to mean more than no fees: other educational necessities will require to be provided to the deserving. School social work, with adequate resources, can also go a long way in this regard.



Police Juvenile Bureau and the Administration of Child Care in India*

P.D Sharma

CHILD CARE is a developmental function of the welfare state. The welfare state, democratic or otherwise, must ensure social security and future well-being to all, especially to those who are in the tender years. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that "childhood is entitled to special care and assistance."¹ It is a paradox that every advancement of civilisation in the form of urbanisation and modernisation, (often confused with development) brings a fresh wave of tension to the lives of children, who represent the continuity of civilisation. In the so-called developed world of the west they are the victims of permissiveness, alcoholism and neurotic tension that threaten to destabilise family and marital relationship of the spouses.² The agricultural societies of the third world may not have the problems of broken homes or children outside the wedlock to the same extent, but they face the grave problems of families in poverty, where children suffer the most. Of course, the village community in India, which usually acts as a check against waywardness, provides some sort of gainful employment to its children and most of them look after their younger kins, graze cattle and help parents and elders in their domestic chores. But then difficulties arise when parents decide to migrate, step parents take to ways of torture, relatives and acquaintances tempt them with a design to misuse, or accidents, diseases, calamities and superstitions leave them physically handicapped and mentally retarded. Naturally, the rural areas in India have a sizable number of identified and unidentified children, who, for one reason or the other, have to suffer a diseased or neglected existence. The callousness of society hardens their delinquent ways into a regular life of crime and social disapprobation. The street dwellers in cities provide a slum culture to their new born,³ who are inadvertently

*The author is thankful to Shri S.C. Mishra, I.P.(retd.), his colleague in the Rajasthan Police Study Team for his valuable comments on the article.

¹Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Text) Article 5.

²For details see *Report of Special Police Departments for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* by Interpol General Secretariat, London, 1960.

³Ganguli, S.N., "Juvenile Delinquency and the Slums of Calcutta", *Calcutta Police Journal*, Vol. III, January-June 1955, No. 1 & 2, pp. 32-36.



pushed to take to the life of crime, beggary and immorality. The dehumanising of the cities and the gradual disappearance of voluntary agencies for welfare activities help to add their share of cruelty to the lives of these innocent millions, who still lack the reason and strength of the body to play the 'brute game' of life in their pre-juvenile years.⁴

Studies in juvenile delinquency have identified innumerable factors that generate deviance and delinquent behaviour among non-adults. Lack of parental affection or over protectionism, mishandling, bad company, economic insufficiency, poor ethical inputs, impact of violent and sexy movies, tempting surroundings of vice-dens, torture, tutelage of the hoodlums and callous apathy of society can be enumerated as some of the potential variables against which all children need to be insured. The statistics about registered crime brings home the enormity of the problems in all countries. Similarly, the kinds of offences the juveniles are capable of committing and finding themselves involved are incredible and the annual steep rise of the graph is alarming. The Table below provides the picture of the juvenile delinquent world of India from 1966 to 1976.⁵

JUVENILES APPREHENDED

<i>Year</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent of Girls</i>
1966	62,823	4,434	67,257	6.6
1969	74,092	4,776	78,868	6.1
1970	94,617	4,228	98,845	4.3
1971	97,887	5,432	103,419	5.3
1972	120,953	7,228	128,181	5.6
1973	122,192	5,550	127,742	4.3
1974	132,125	8,514	140,639	6.1
1975	132,587	9,312	141,899	6.6
1975	124,564	9,404	133,968	7.0
Per cent age change over				
1966	+98.3	+112.1	+99.2	
1975	— 6.1	+1.0	— 5.6	

Unlike India, the western world has shown tremendous awareness of the problems of juvenile delinquency which is qualitatively different in its content and manifestations. The Criminal Justice Act of 1948 in UK envisaged a

⁴Panakal and Khalifa, *Prevention of Types of Criminality ... in Less-developed Countries*, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1960.

⁵*Crime in India*, Government of India, New Delhi, 1978, p. 99.

scheme of police attendance centres at police stations for the young.⁶ In France, the *Surate Nationale*, the *Gendarmerie Nationale* and the *Paris Prefecture of Police* cooperate with juvenile courts and the *Surate Nationale* has 33 juvenile squads with a compliment of 120 officers for combating the problem of delinquency in the major provincial cities and towns.⁷ In Germany WPK (Weibliche Polizei) Kriminal was established as early as 1930 and has been working as a police department for the juveniles in all the States of the Federal Republic.⁸ Vienna has a police youth hostel to house children below 16 pending disposal of their cases by law courts. Although there is no special federal police department for juveniles in USA, most of the States have juvenile aid bureaus, youth bureaus, and special service bureaus. As the police in UK and USA enjoys a discretion to send or not to send juvenile cases to law courts, the study reveals that on an average, out of 1700,000 cases annually handled by the US police departments, only 425,000 cases go before the juvenile courts.⁹ Japan is one country which has created an exclusive and central agency of juvenile police extending its organisation to all *prefectures* and police stations. The agency established in 1953 has proved extremely effective and useful¹⁰ through its DPA (Delinquency Prevention Area) programmes, which on an average cover an area of 10,000 sq. kms. and a population of 35,00,000 citizens dwelling there.

LAWS CONCERNING JUVENILES

In India a dozen important Central laws exist, which deal with the problems of juveniles. In addition, there are scores of State laws which take care of the problems of children in their respective jurisdictions.¹¹ The major Acts like IPC, Cr.PC, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, partially deal with the various facets of the problem, but other exclusive Acts like the Children's Act (LX of 1960), the Probation of Offender Act (XX of 1958), The Factories Act (LXIII of 1948) and the Orphanage and Other Charitable Homes Act (X of 1960) provide the broad frame within which the States have worked out their own supplements.

To meet the requirements of the aforesaid laws most of the States of the Union have created short term and long term institutions. The short term

⁶Radzenowicz L. (ed.), *Attendance Centres*, Cambridge Studies in Criminology, 1961, pp. 100-108.

⁷Deb and Tiwari, "Role of Police in Combating Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁹*Special Police Department for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* by Interpol General Secretariat, *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 23.

¹⁰"Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Police in Japan", *International Criminal Police Review*, 131, Tokyo, October, 1959, pp. 237-43.

¹¹The relevant clauses of some of these Acts are I.P.C. (Sections 82, 83 and 363A), Cr. PC (Sections 29 and 562), Factories Act, (Sections 23, 27, 67 and 71) Motor Transport Workers Act (Sections 21 and 24).

institutions are called by various names such as, remand homes, observation homes, reception homes, children's homes and auxiliary homes. These short term institutions provide immediate shelter and provisional care to the transients in the legal process. The long term institutions have a higher and a bigger objective of permanent rehabilitation and after care. They are known by varying names such as industrial schools, Borstal schools, reformatory schools, fit persons institutions, bal mandirs and vigilance homes in different States. In 1967 Maharashtra alone had 123 such long term institutions, Gujarat 28 and West Bengal and the Union territory of Delhi one each.¹² These institutions have facilities for liberal education upto VI standard and provide food, clothing, medical aid, indoor recreation and vocational training to their inmates falling in different age groups for varying lengths of time.

In the Indian situation when the law enjoins upon the state to look after the personality and health of the child, it does not entrust the police with any major responsibility in the area. The Central Social Welfare Board and its counterparts in the States, alongwith their other multifarious duties, look after the enforcement of the various legislations regarding children that exist on the statute books. In pursuance to some of the requirements of the laws, three distinct kinds of services for the juveniles, namely, (a) the juvenile courts, (b) the probation service, and (c) the aftercare and follow up services, have sprung up in varying degrees in the different States. These juvenile services come into play only when the juvenile is caught in an overt act. There is no concept of discovering a potential delinquent for purposes of reformation and removal of causes of delinquency. The approach is, by and large, bureaucratic and rule bound. In the absence of social orientation, the juvenile services appear on the scene or intervene only to discover that the juvenile has already hardened into a life of crime without any hope of resurrection. Due to lack of resources and manpower, the juvenile services at present are pressed into service only when the field agencies of the social welfare departments or the police stations in the district pass on certain specific and proven cases of potential delinquency to these institutions rendering the aforesaid services.¹³ The metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras have some of the best of these institutions and the most efficient juvenile services in the country, although their coverage and resources do not even touch the fringe of the colossal problem. The growing awareness of the task of reclaiming the erring children and their salvage from deviation is the basic police responsibility all over the world. No organisation other than the police can and should be more interested in checking on juveniles from becoming delinquents or in reforming them from their state of fallibility. The police stands to gain the most, if the juveniles are handled properly and are saved from a life of crime and vice in time. Notwithstanding its professional limitations and scanty

¹²Deb and Tiwari, "*Role of Police in Combating Juvenile Delinquency in India*", *op. cit.*, p. 66.

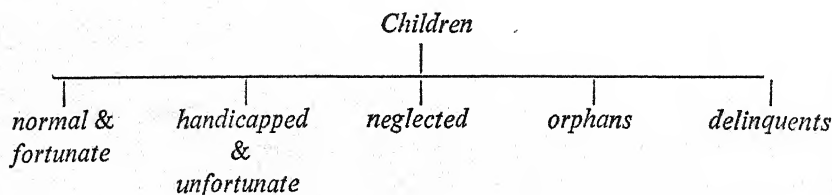
¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 67-68, 36-39.

resources, the police organisation should come forward to undertake this job, even if it means more work and extra expenditure. The collaboration of other auxiliary agencies like the juvenile courts, the probation service, and after care homes of the department of social welfare can be ensured only when the police is entrusted with the legal responsibility. The impact of all these cumulative efforts under the aegis of the police alone can make a good beginning in the field of effective child care system in India.¹⁴

To involve the police in the administration of child care in a country like India requires a considerable conceptual clarity and organisational mapping. It is all the more necessary because the problems are unique and a very tall objective of child welfare is to be achieved with almost negligible resources and in the minimum possible time. The present paper moots the idea of the creation of a police juvenile bureau as a specialised unit of State and district police organisation with their field agencies in towns and cells in selective rural police stations, to coordinate the administration of delinquency. The suggestion has been examined in its totality and in the present context of overlapping functions and concurrent jurisdictions, leading to dyarchy and ultimate evasion of organisational responsibility.

ADMINISTRATION OF DELINQUENCY

Children in any society are a prize possession of the family and no state, howsoever totalitarian, can take away the fundamental right of the child to demand family conditions for his/her upbringing. However, societies have problems and children can be broadly classified into various categories such as:

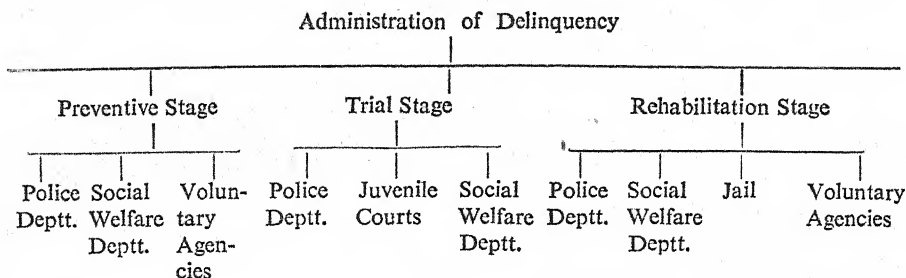


These categories, though nebulous, can be further broken into sub-categories on the basis of age, sex, social profiles and domicile. The social welfare departments, administering the Children's Acts and other allied pieces of social legislation, have an overall responsibility and must devise specialised agencies for these specific categories. The police organisation, which primarily deals with the control of crime and prevention of vice, has to be vitally concerned with the administration of delinquency, which, in practice, cannot

¹⁴For details see "Special Police Department for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency", a paper submitted to the U.N. Congress for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Delinquents by I.C.P.O., Paris, held in August 1960 at London.



be separated from the administration of welfare of other kinds of children, namely, neglected, the handicapped and the orphan. Even in this very narrow and specific area of administration of delinquency, the police administration has to deal with the problem at three distinct stages, each stage involving the cooperation of other agencies, but leaving the initiative and even major responsibility of administration to the police. These stages and agencies are:



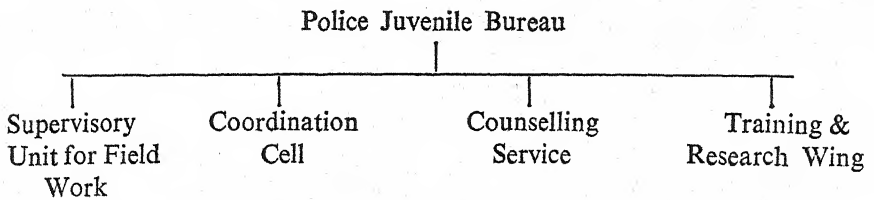
Obviously, police has a role at all the three stages, but its functioning in the field of removal of delinquency will be largely handicapped, if other agencies do not respond in time or if their efforts go uncoordinated. The present system of child care in most of the States is self-defeating largely because the administration of delinquency is very low in police priority and does not provide the necessary inputs to activate the working of other sister agencies in administration. The police, besides being a visible field agency, has a house to house coverage through its beat system of stations. It can and should play a key role at the preventive stage and also in the trial and rehabilitation of the known delinquents¹⁵ The other agencies, like the voluntary organisations, juvenile courts and social welfare homes, etc., enter only at later stage. Their cooperation, assistance and specialised services are certainly of immense value to the police, but administratively speaking, it is only the police organisation which can and, hence, should be, duty bound to prevent and control the ever increasing quantum of juvenile crime in the country.¹⁶

¹⁵After all the first contact of a potential juvenile is always with the Police. The poor conditions of Police Stations can shock the child beyond redemption. At present every juvenile delinquent has to go to the Police Station (for howsoever brief the period may be) before he is sent to the Children's Home. During investigation formalities he has to remain in the contact of traditional policemen, who are used to dealing with the hardened criminals only. It is highly injurious to the health of the Juvenile and there is a case that such children who have never been to a Police Station before, should be handled only by trained and sympathetic Police personnel of a specialised Bureau.

¹⁶Pakenham, *Cause of Crime*, London, 1959, pp. 141-45. Also see Von Hentig, *Crime: Causes and Conditions*, 1947, London, pp. 103-8.

THE POLICE JUVENILE BUREAU

To accomplish this it is being suggested here that there should be a police juvenile bureau (PJB) at every State police headquarters, directly under the charge of a DIG police. The existing metropolitan units, notwithstanding their present status, may continue to be administered by their respective Police Commissioners, but they may be affiliated with the State PJB for their allied operations. Every urban town with a population of three lakhs and above should automatically be allowed to have the specialised unit of this bureau. The bureau may have its functional cells in the district office of the police under the SP, and, if necessary, some police officers may be earmarked for juvenile aid work in selected rural and urban police stations also. The PJB at the headquarters may have the following organisational structure:



Obviously, a similar organisation in a smaller or bigger form can be envisaged for the PJB at the district level and in the metropolitan cities also. The level of officials and the size of the various cells and wings or units may be worked out as per the functional needs of the new organisation.¹⁷ Actually, it is a fallacy to contend that rural areas in India do not suffer from the scourge of juvenile delinquency. The PJB at the district should involve itself in the live problems of the field, while the headquarters organisation of the bureau should handle administrative problems and provide feedback to its district units. The actual organisation of the PJB at all levels will ultimately depend upon the functions which the State Government or the State police organisation will like to entrust to this specialised agency.¹⁸ Broadly speaking, the following functions can be envisaged for the PJB at the police headquarters in the State:

The bureau should undertake prevention of delinquency at all levels

¹⁷Juvenile Aid Bureau Manual, P.O. No. 180, The Bihar Police Gazette, September, 1961.

¹⁸A Seminar on *Juvenile Delinquency : Role of the Police*, organised by CBI in 1966, recommended that 'In every city with a population of one lakh and more a special unit, headed by an Inspector of Police and consisting of adequate staff, including Women Police, should be created.... For cities with a population of five lakhs, there should be an adequate number of units under the charge of a Dy. S.P. The I.G.P. and the S.P. at the levels of the State and the District should have Advisory Committees and be assisted by a S.P. and a Dy. S.P. respectively. See Seminar Report by M.K. Jha, *Indian Police Journal*, Delhi, April, 1966.



and in all forms. It should conduct surveys, identify individual delinquent child and collect socio-economic data about his family background. It should direct the police station to maintain detailed records and send periodical and statistical reports about children : (a) delinquent, (b) likely to be delinquent, and (c) factors responsible for delinquency in each case. Similarly, information about truants, vagrants, children lost or missing, abducted or kidnapped, etc., may be collected at the district PJB for onward transmission to the State bureau. The bureau may take necessary steps to discover missing children and keep in touch with the families of the children, lost or kidnapped.

The PJB must undertake to initiate coordination work in the field of juvenile delinquency. It should invite periodic meetings of parents, social welfare officers and social workers, police officials, jail superintendents, probation officers and judges of juvenile courts to discuss common problems and identify the roles for each agency. The coordination cell of the PJB at both the levels should be in constant touch with these participants in the administration of juvenile delinquency and specific cases may be referred to the relevant agencies after their collective examination in the sub-committees of the bureau.

As juvenile delinquency is essentially a police problem and its unchecked growth has wider ramifications in the world of criminal justice, it will be advisable for the PJB to develop specialised counselling services and undertake consultancy work of a highly skilled nature. The bureau may have the services of trained psychologists, lawyers and medical jurists to advise its clients about problems of personality, habit, recidivism, rehabilitation, court cases and jail problems. The socio-legal counselling as a service for the juveniles can be one of the specialised and technical functions of the bureau, which the other agencies in the district and in the State may gainfully borrow, if and when required.

The bureau may undertake independent research studies in the areas of delinquency and correction. It may sponsor two separate kinds of training programmes, one for the police officers and social workers engaged in the task of prevention and correction of delinquency and another for the delinquent children, who may learn various kinds of useful arts during their training period to lead a meaningful life as adults in future. There can be combined and mixed training courses and the experience thus gained can be creatively used by researchers attached to the bureau.

The police juvenile bureau is not a very original or radical idea. The metropolitan cities of India are quite familiar with its working.¹⁹ What is being

¹⁹The Juvenile Aid Police Unit (JAPU) in Bombay, the Juvenile Police Aid Bureau (JPAB) in Calcutta and the Juvenile Aid Police Unit (JAPU) in Madras are headed by Deputy Commissioners of Police in Bombay and Calcutta and by Assistant Commissioner

suggested here is a scheme of making this specialised agency a part and parcel of the regular State police administration—urban as well as rural. The bureau may be an administrative agency to begin with, but it can be envisaged as a growing centre of multifarious activities through all sorts of attached institutions and technical branches for specialised jobs. Looking to the delicate nature of the emotional problems that the juvenile world has, it can be contended that such bureaus should increasingly be placed under the charge of motherly women. As a feminine preserve, they can certainly prove more purposive and the absence of masculine callousness can positively contribute to their enhanced efficiency and goal getting.²⁰

CITIZEN POLICE

It is a truism to say that the police organisation in India today has neither an adequate coverage nor the requisite expertise to undertake these additional and difficult functions. Finding their own house in disorder and now under fire, it is understandable that senior police officers do not want to overburden their organisation with functions in a field alien to the cops. Similarly, some of the agencies of the State social welfare departments, which quite recently have entered into this vacuum are gradually developing vested interests in the game. They do not have a field organisation or a beat system with positive functions to enforce social legislation, but may not like that the police should step in into the domain which they presently administer with impunity. The usual arguments of police corruption, overwork, police-culture, policecompany and third degree methods used by police are the *alibis* to sabotage action. The fact of the matter is that juvenile delinquency is a growing menace in a modernising society like India and only a different kind of police with knowledgeability and commitment can hold a satisfactory answer to the vexed question.²¹

The students of criminal justice in India know that social welfare departments of the States are ill-equipped and ill-organised to deal with the problems

(Continued from previous page)

of Police in Madras. Their common functions are enforcement of the Children's Acts, patrolling of delinquency areas, including picking up of destitutes and restoration of runaway children to parents, conducting of field enquiries and surveys and undertaking parent counselling. Their staff maintains close liaison with reception homes and boys clubs. However, investigation of crimes committed by Juveniles continues to be the responsibility of the local police in all the metropolitan cities. Deb and Tiwari, *Role of Police in Combating Juvenile Delinquency in India*, op. cit., pp. 36-41.

²⁰It is noteworthy that more than half of the juvenile bureaus in USA have police women on their staff. Male police officers usually deal with the work of law enforcement, while the police women look to the preventive aspect of police duties in relation to juveniles.

²¹See Report of the Seminar on *Juvenile Delinquency : Role of the Police*, organised by Central Bureau of Investigation, at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi from November 25 to 27, 1965.



of delinquency effectively. They already have their hands full with assorted problems of all categories of children—neglected, diseased, handicapped and orphaned. In the absence of an effective machinery in the field, the legislation pertaining to children is observed more in breach and the police does not feel concerned or duty-bound to take cognisance or action in the matter. The poor enforcement of Children's Acts and other laws lies at the root of the malady, which *ipso facto* renders other agencies as simply dysfunctional.²² The creation of the PJB at the district levels and the State headquarters can provide the much needed mechanism to initiate action and coordinate efforts, which do not yield desired results today. With an adequate machinery in its own organisation and exclusive legal responsibility, the police will take more interest in the preventive rather than in the correctional aspects of juvenile delinquency which alone can save the child from undesirable exposures and retrieve him without causing injury to his personality. Moreover, it will improve the police image *suo motto* because positive functions like child care, when handled by expert police women, will happily shock the society in appreciating the new role of the police.

Similarly the participation of policemen and policewomen of the bureau in after-care programmes through boys clubs and recreation centres, etc., till the delinquents attain a certain age or find some employment, will positively contribute to the fair image of the police organisation. The involvement of the police along with voluntary agencies and other social service organisations in the total child care programmes will project the police in its new image of a citizen police. It is quite understandable that the present policemen will find it embarrassing for some time to work in this new area, but gradually the experience will reveal that the job is not only exciting, but highly challenging and satisfying as well. Similarly to a layman, the achievements of the PJB in a State may not look very spectacular, but its long range impact upon the patterns of future crime and profiles of future criminals will be worth the experiment. After all, the police cannot afford to take an ostrich like attitude towards crimes involving children in tender age groups. It has to equip itself for the problems of the future and the establishment of police juvenile bureaus in the State police organisations of the country will certainly be an appropriate and worthwhile *gift* from the present generation of police reformers to the posterity in the International Year of the Child.



²²See relevant parts of the Report of the Central Social Welfare Board, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi, 1978.

Child Labour in India : Size and Occupational Distribution

Malabika Patnaik

THE HIGH incidence of child labour in India is not only shocking from the moral point of view, but also represents a waste of vast human resources, which instead of being improved upon through education and training is utilised in a most unproductive and wasteful manner. This paper makes an attempt at giving a statistical outline of the incidence of child labour and its occupational distribution over the period covered by the census of 1961 and 1971. Statewise and industrywise analysis is deliberately left out to limit the scope of the paper, the aim being simply to state the magnitude of the problem and show the inefficacy of the existing laws relating to child labour.

With 13 million infants added every year¹ India has achieved the distinction of having one of the world's youngest populations. The 1971 census showed that 42 per cent of the Indian population consists of children under 15 years of age. In the 1951 census it was 37.5 per cent (Table 1).

TABLE 1 CHILDREN (0-14) AGE GROUP IN TOTAL POPULATION

	1951			1961			1971		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
India									
(in million)	134	69	65	180	92	88	230	119	111
Per cent	37.5	19.3	18.2	41.02	21.00	20.02	42.01	21.01	21.00
Rural									
(in million)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	149	76	73	188	97	91
Per cent				34.01	17.45	16.56	34.25	18.15	16.1
Urban									
(in million)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	31	16	15	42	22	20
Per cent				7.01	3.65	3.36	7.76	4.11	3.5

SOURCE : Census 1951, census 1961 and census 1971.

While the entire population of India in 1911 was 252 million, projections indicate that children alone already numbered 248 million in 1976 and a

The writer expresses her gratitude to Dr. K.N. Kabra and Shri Pranab Banerjee for their most considerate help and useful suggestions.

¹The Child in India, UNICEF Publication for the Government of India, 1979.



more recent estimate puts the child population in 1977 at 252 million.²

The 1961 census shows that out of the 41 per cent children, 34 per cent lived in the rural areas while only 7 per cent belonged to urban areas. The 1971 census showed the same concentration except for urban child population rising from 7 per cent to 8 per cent.

INCIDENCE OF CHILD LABOUR

The important sources available for estimating the incidence of child labour are:

1. Census data
2. N.S.S. data
3. Agricultural and rural labour enquiries.

The study conducted by the Labour Bureau on child labour dates back to 1953-54. The report of the National Commission on Labour 1969 has only touched the problem. Thus the census remains the only source for basic data.

The 1971 census listed 10.7 million children as workers, but independent estimates such as ILO reports and the report of the National Commission on Labour indicate that the total child labour force may be much higher than the quoted figure. An analysis of the census data itself suggests that child labour could be under-reported. We will come to it shortly. However, according to the 1971 census, children easily constitute about 6 per cent of the total labour force in the country (Table 2) and this makes India top in child labour.

TABLE 2 CHILD WORKERS (0-14) AND THEIR PROPORTION IN TOTAL WORKERS

		1961			1971		
		Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
India	(in million)	14.5	8.7	5.8	10.7	7.9	2.8
	Per cent	7.6	4.6	3.0	5.9	4.3	1.6
Rural	(in million)	13.7	8.1	5.6	9.9	7.2	2.7
	Per cent	7.2	4.3	2.9	5.5	4.0	1.5
Urban	(in million)	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.7	0.1
	Per cent	.4	.3	.1	.4	.3	.1

SOURCE : Census 1961 and Census 1971.

The number of child workers in 1971 census was 10.7 million as against 14.5 million in 1961, showing a decline of 3.8 million. This steep decline in

²The Child in India, *op. cit.*



the face of a rising population poses a puzzle. But if we compare the decline of child workers with that of the total workers and the total non-child workers (total workers minus total child workers) we can find some plausible explanation for it. While the percentage decline in total child workers from 1961 to 1971 was 26.21, the decline in total workers from 1961 to 1971 was 4.77 per cent and that of total non-child workers was 2.98. Granted that the definition of 'worker' had changed from 1961 census to 1971 census³ it must have applied uniformly to all age groups. So the abnormal decline in child workers (26.21 per cent) as against 4.77 and 2.98 per cent in case of total workers and non-child workers, even after taking into account the changed definition, suggests the possibility of child labour being under-reported in the 1971 census.

Moreover a careful look would suggest that in rural areas the decline in child labour was marked (3.8 million) in contrast to the constant figure in urban areas (Table 2). The decline in case of female child labour is also much more marked (3 million) whereas for males the decline was negligible (0.8 million). This decline in the rural child workers and female child workers can be explained by the changed definition of 'worker' in the 1971 census as compared to the 1961 census. In the 1971 census a worker was defined as one whose *main activity* was production of 'goods and services' which meant that a large number of children (as well as females) fell under the category of 'non-workers' for their main activity was now categorised as 'household work' or 'studentship' or as merely 'dependents'. This would imply that a large number of child workers who were engaged in seasonal, casual or subsidiary employment are not included in the workers' category.

TABLE 3 PERCENTAGE OF CHILD WORKERS IN TOTAL CHILD POPULATION

		<i>Person</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
India	1961	8.03	4.82	3.21
	1971	4.67	3.42	1.25
Rural	1961	7.6	4.5	3.1
	1971	4.34	3.17	1.17
Urban	1961	0.43	0.31	0.12
	1971	0.33	0.25	0.08

SOURCE: 1961 & 1971 census data.

An idea of the change in child participation rates during the decade 1961-71 may however be obtained from the data collected under NSS in their

- ³(i) The reference period was reduced from a fortnight in 1961 census to a week in 1971 census for regular labour.
- (ii) The definition adopted for a 'worker' was made more rigorous in 1971 than what it was in 1961 as "producing goods and services".
- (iii) The reference period for seasonal labour was one year in 1971 whereas it was throughout the greater part of the working season in 1961 census for a person doing regular work of more than one hour a day in the period.

16th (July 1960-June 1961) and 27th (October 1972-September 1973) rounds:

Sex-Age Specified Labour Force Participation*

Sex	Age Group	Rural		Urban	
		1960-61	1972-73	1960-61	1972-73
Male	5-9	3.28	2.57	0.52	0.84
	10-14	32.73	26.33	11.69	10.16
Female	5-9	2.40	1.94	0.73	0.38
	10-14	22.97	19.97	6.79	5.83

* Defined as the percentage ratio of the estimated number of persons in labour force belonging to a specific sex-age combination to the total population of that sex-age combination.

The data in the Table suggest that the participation rates of child labour have declined both among males and females as well as in the rural and urban areas but not to the extent the census data suggest.

CHILDREN IN PRIMARY SECTOR

Out of the 10.7 million listed as child workers in 1971, 87 per cent were engaged in primary activities. The break-up is as in Table 4 : 36.05 per cent as cultivators, 8.25 per cent in livestock, forestry, fishing and plantation and 42.70 per cent as agricultural labourers. Only among this group together with 'cultivators' group the female participation rate is higher than the male participation rate (corroborated by Table 5 also). This is perhaps because the family based economy gives more importance to the participation of young girls than of boys of the same age group. In the secondary sector, the participation rate of child labour is 6.87 per cent, most of it in the manufacturing, processing and servicing industry. Household activities claim 3.15 per cent while non-household activities have 2.94 per cent of child labour. In construction and mining activities though their percentage is 0.22 and 0.56 respectively it shows that tender hands are not altogether exempted from such strenuous activities. The tertiary sector which comprises of trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication and 'other services' recruits 6.13 per cent of its labour force from the 0-14 age group.

A comparison of the 1971 census data with the 1961 data would show that the proportion of child labour has gone up from 80.35 per cent to 87 per cent. This increase is inspite of the difference in classification of the two censuses. In the 1961 census mining and quarrying was combined with the 3rd classification, *i.e.*, 'livestock forestry and allied activities' whereas in the 1971 census the former was made separate. This goes to show that the absorption capacity of child labour in the non-primary sector is low. Hence the labourers

TABLE 5 DISTRIBUTION OF 1000 WORKERS IN EACH INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY IN (0-14) AGE GROUP

Sl. No.	Industrial Category	1961			1971		
		No. of children per 1000 workers in each category		No. of female children per 1000 female workers in each category	No. of children per 1000 workers in each category		No. of female children per 1000 female workers in each category
		No. of male children per 1000 male workers in each category	No. of female children per 1000 female workers in each category		No. of male children per 1000 male workers in each category	No. of female children per 1000 female workers in each category	
1.	Cultivators	74	64	96	50	45	81
2.	Agricultural Labourers	101	101	101	97	95	100
3.	Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, allied activities	199	208	170	206	212	182
4.	Mining and quarrying	—	—	—	25	18	71
5.	Household Industry	123	126	119	53	40	105
6.	Non-Household Industry	30	26	70	30	25	86
7.	Construction	33	24	93	27	21	85
8.	Trade and Commerce	20	19	30	21	21	25
9.	Transport, Storage and Communication	8	7	34	9	8	41
10.	Other Services	45	38	70	26	21	55

SOURCE : 1961 and 1971 census data.

of this age group find no other alternative but to overcrowd the agricultural sector.

Since the classification of population in the 1951 census was according to livelihood (as 'self-supporting person', 'earning dependent' and 'non-earning dependent') in contrast to the 1961 and 1971 census, where the categories were 'workers' and 'non-workers', it is not possible to find out the work force coming from the 0-14 age group. Hence a comparison of the 1951 census with 1961 and 1971 census is not attempted in the paper. Over the past one decade, therefore, for which data is available, the position of child labour has barely improved. The marked decline in the employment of children in the secondary sector (from 12.36 per cent in 1961, it fell to 6.87 per cent in 1971) and the increase of child labour in the primary sector (from 80.69 per cent in 1961 to 87 per cent in 1971) *prima facie* suggests that more children are being pushed into the primary sector, the secondary sector being a taboo for them by law. Of course, this hypothesis that the Factories Acts⁴ have diverted child labour to other activities cannot be conclusively proved on the basis of available data, but the fact remains that increasing incidence of child labour in the primary sector means increasing marginalisation for the child labourers, for wages in the sector is low. Working conditions in the unorganised sector are also equally bad, for they do not come under the purview of the various child protection laws that have been enacted from time to time. Thus most child workers remain outside the scope of protective legislation and continue to be exploited.

According to the 1971 census data about 93 per cent of child workers belong to the rural area. They constitute 5.3 per cent of the total rural child population. The 7 per cent of child workers found in urban areas constitute 6 per cent of the total urban child population.

MIGRANTS' CHILDREN

Migrants seem to encourage early employment of children. Data indicate that as many as 80 per cent of the children of migrants are workers. This is four times higher than the rate among settled population.⁵ Most of the child labourers in urban centres are the uncared for children of migrants who have been suddenly catapulted from the rural obscurity to the congested urban slums and the children have no option but to go with the parents in search of work.

The high incidence of child labour in a country like India, which swears by welfare principles and a socialistic pattern of society, suggests that the economy is still in the initial phase of industrial revolution which Britain was going through two centuries back, when the 'Poor Laws' were in vogue. Not-

⁴The Factories Act, 1948, which prohibits employment of children below 14 years age has been amended from time to time keeping in view the welfare of the children.

⁵*The Child in India, op. cit.*

withstanding all the labour laws⁶ that have been enacted relating to children from time to time in keeping with the spirit of the U.N. declaration of the rights of the child, the vast majority of our children continue to languish for want of food, shelter and security—added to which is the heavy burden of work they have to undertake under sheer economic pressure. Marx's⁷ analysis of the economic and juridical conditions of 17th century England where the reserve army of labourers⁸ had no choice but to offer their labour to the employer, who had all the choice to employ whomsoever he pleased, gives us a better insight as to why children were preferred in factories instead of adults. Those were the days of surplus expropriation based largely on absolute surplus value⁹ and the subsistence level of children being low, it was natural that children were forced to work in certain factories. The workers who were given a choice between starvation and exploitation naturally had no qualms in sending their young children to fend for themselves.

Of course, as far as the legal conditions are concerned, India has come a long way and unlike the early industrialisation stage in England, today we have a host of laws forbidding the employment of children in avocations unsuited to their age and strength and a number of protective legislations safeguarding their interest, health, etc. But protection by the law alone does not help. In a large number of cases where it is a choice between starvation and exploitation the child is forced to succumb to the latter since there is no formal and governmental social security measure or protection against starvation in the country. Widespread poverty and destitution therefore seems to be the root cause of such high incidence of child labour.

A study report by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development in Bombay has brought out important findings on the reasons that compel children to take to employment. They are:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Lack of employment/inadequate family income	63.2
Natural calamities	7.6
Uneconomic holdings	6.6
Loss of earning members	15.7
Better job prospects	6.9

Thus all evidence points to economic compulsion being the major factor behind children taking up jobs and this is reflected in the relationship between child labour and non-schooling amongst the poor.

If one attempts to fit a correlation between the incidence of child labour

⁶Apart from the Factories Act, 1954, there has been Plantations Labour Act, 1951, Mines Act, 1952, Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1958, Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961, Bidi & Cigar Workers Act, 1966, etc.

⁷*Capital*, Vol. 1, 'The Greed for Surplus Labour', Chapter X, Sec., 1, 2, 3.

⁸*Capital*, Vol. 1, Ch. XXV, Section 3, p. 628.

⁹See Engels *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, Oxford, Ch. VII & VIII, and *Capital*, Vol. 1, Ch. XVI, pp. 508-520.

and the low level of literacy in that age group one finds the correlation coefficient to be significant and negative (-0.71)¹⁰ which makes a *prima facie* case for raising the level of literacy among the population in order to bring down the incidence of employment of children. But a closer look at the enrolment ratio on the one hand and dropouts on the other goes to prove that even though public expenditure on education has increased, the opportunity borne by poor parents by sending their children to school has remained high enough to frustrate any educational expansion programme. The data below give a profile of the enrolment ratio and dropout ratio for males and females in the 0-14 age group.

In 1960-61 approximately 19.2 million students were enrolled in primary classes. During the decade 1961-71 about 22.5 million additional children were on the roll of classes I-V. But if we see the annual rate of enrolment in primary education it has been lower than the annual rate of growth of population. Only 80.9 per cent of children in the 6-11 age group and 37 per cent in the 11-14 age group are enrolled in the schools. The enrolment level for girls is much lower than that for boys. While the enrolment of boys of the 6-11 years age group is 97.5 per cent it is only 63.5 per cent for girls of that group. In the 11-14 years age group, the enrolment of boys is 48.7 per cent but that of girls is only 24.5 per cent. The gap widens further at the high school level (14-17 years) with enrolment of boys at 28.8 per cent and that of girls at just 12.3 per cent.¹¹

Coming to dropout rates, out of every 100 children who enter class I less than half complete class V and only 24 complete class VIII. The dropout rates for girls is much higher. Out of every 100 girls who join class I only about 30 reach class V. Thus 70 per cent of girls who get enrolled leave school without attaining functional literacy.

In rural areas again the dropout is much higher than in urban areas as brought out by the Committee on Labour Welfare. It's the clash between timings and periodicity of the school system and those of agricultural operations which results in permanent withdrawals, whereas, in the urban areas, the reasons given for discontinuing studies are¹²:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Could not meet school expenses	33.0
Death/disease of parents	12.4
Pressure of household chores/had to help family in business	7.3
Lack of interest in studies/ill-treatment of teachers	34.9
Others	12.4
	<hr/> 100.00

¹⁰K.C. Seal, 'Children in Employment', Unpublished Paper.

¹¹*The Child in India, op. cit.*

¹²'Study of Working Children in Bombay'—A Study Report by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi, 1978.



Thus in a majority of the cases it is poverty more than anything else that compels parents to send their children to work instead of sending them to school. Added to the income foregone, is the relatively high private costs of primary education that discourages parents from sending their children to school. Thus education has become dysfunctional to this vast poor section of our population.

The statistical Tables show the magnitude of the problem though the poor conditions under which children work is something which figures can never capture—though it is a familiar sight everywhere of young children constantly on their toes as helpers in restaurants, farms, workshops, as shoeshine boys, vendors, construction helpers—their over-worked and resigned looks speak volumes of their wretched living conditions.

True, there has been a host of legislation for improving the conditions of these children. But since the root cause of the problem is poverty, the official policy of forbidding children to work does not solve the problem, it simply shifts the centre from the organised to the unorganised sector. Raising the educational level also cannot act as a deterrent to such a phenomenon, for the very reasons that compel them to take to work also prevents them from going to school. Hence mere legislations and regulations will only remain as palliatives unless the problem of poverty and destitution is tackled on a war footing so as to eradicate it.



Occupational Needs and Pre-Employment Training of Non-Students

K.S.R.N. Sarma

THIS PAPER attempts to highlight some of the problems involved in organising training and employment services for the non-students. The term 'non-student' is used to refer to the child of school going age, *i.e.*, 6-17 years, who is not continuing education. It covers both the children who never pursued education either at school, at home or elsewhere and also those, who after attending school or pursuing education for some time, discontinued it. The non-students are usually classified into three age groups corresponding to the school levels in which they would have been, had they continued their education without a break, *i.e.*, 6+ to 10 years; 11+ to 13+ years; and 14+ to 17+ years, corresponding to primary, middle and secondary school levels respectively. Another classification of non-students in vogue is on the basis of their educational attainment, like illiterate, literate with no formal education, primary, middle or secondary school studied.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Statistics regarding non-students, their number, age classification, etc., are not readily available. However, a rough idea about the magnitude of their problem in the country could be had from the data given in Table A.

From the table it is clear that the proportion of non-school going children is very high and it is particularly acute at the secondary school going age of 14 to 17 years. One could also notice that even though the percentage of enrolment at the primary school level is relatively high, the pupils drop out as the years pass by. This could be better explained by taking a hypothetical situation. Suppose all the children who were enrolled in primary schools in 1970-71 continued their education without break. By 1975-76 they should be in middle school or above. The school enrolment at middle level then should have been around 78 per cent, *i.e.*, the same as the percentage enrolment at primary schools level in 1970-71. But in actual experience the percentage is only 37¹, which

¹Annual Report, 1975-76, Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Department of Education, p. 3.



TABLE A. NUMBER OF NON-STUDENTS—ALL INDIA

School level and age group	Percentage enrolment in schools in the year			Assumed percentage school enrolment in 1979			Estimated number of non-students in 1979(f) (in million)		
	1960- 61(a)	1970- 71(b)	1977- 78(c)	Persons	Boys	Girls	Persons	Boys	Girls
Primary (6-10 yrs.)	62	78.6	82.8	85(d)	101	68	13.04	—	13.04
Middle (11-13 yrs.)	23	33.4	37.9	40(d)	51	27	29.17	12.28	16.89
Secondary (14-17 yrs.)	11	18.5	N.A.	25(e)	35	15	45.80	20.01	25.79

SOURCES :

- (a) Fourth Five Year Plan (Draft), New Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commission, p. 294.
- (b) Education in India, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare 1978, pp. 183, 185 and 187. The break-up of school enrolments in respect of boys and girls at different school levels in 1970-71 is as follows :

Percentage of enrolment

School level	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	95.0	60.5	78.6
Middle	46.0	19.9	33.4
Secondary	26.8	9.8	18.5

- (c) Annual Report of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Department of Education and Culture, Government of India for the year 1978-79, page 3.
- (d) The Draft Sixth Plan report gives the estimates of school enrolment in 1977-78 as follows:

Percentage of enrolment

School level	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	101	68	85
Middle	51	27	40

Vide : Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83, New Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1978, p. 227.

- (e) The target for enrolment at the secondary level for the year 1978-79 as given in the Fifth plan document (Vide, p. 76 of the Report) is 25 per cent. The enrolment percentages in respect of boys and girls are worked on the basis that out of 100 girls that enter class I, only 40 complete class V and about 25 complete class VIII (vide, Annual Report of the Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, for the year 1978-79 *op. cit.*, p. 24-25).
- (f) The total number of children in the school-going age in 1979 was worked with the help of the data available in the Report on Population Projections worked out under the guidance of the Expert Committee set up by the Planning Commission under the chairmanship of the Registrar General, India.

New Delhi, Office of the Registrar General, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1969.



means about 50 per cent of the children who were on the rolls in the primary schools in 1970-71 dropped out before they reached the middle school stage. Similarly, dropouts are high from middle to secondary school levels. The various surveys conducted in the field support this observation. The Education Commission reported that in a survey carried out on school-dropouts in Poona city, out of 1,000 children who had enrolled in class I, as many as 414 had left the school before they reached class IV.² In a study conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training in Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh³ in the schools run by the State Governments and municipal corporations the rate of stagnation and wastage was observed to be as high as 78.35 per cent before the pupils reached class VIII.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE NON-STUDENT PHENOMENON

A number of factors are observed to contribute to the phenomenon of non-students. They are generally classified into three: economic, educational and socio-environmental. The economic factors are very obvious. In a country where a large percentage of population lives just at the subsistence or below the subsistence level, parents find it difficult to provide for the cost of education of their children. Though schooling is free upto primary and middle school levels in most of the regions, sending a child to school would mean expenditure (for the parent) on his clothing, books, etc. Further, as a child grows, he is a potential contributor; however meagre his earnings be, it would be an addition to that of the family. As rightly observed by the Education Commission:

A child is willingly sent to school between the ages 6 and 9 because at this stage he is more a nuisance at home than help. After the age of 9 or 10 the child becomes an economic asset because he can work at home or earn something outside. This is especially true of girls who have to assist the overworked mother at home. The child is, therefore, withdrawn from the school.⁴

From the educational point, the chief factor contributing to the phenomenon of non-students, again to quote the Education Commission, is the 'lack of articulation between education and life', i.e., the failure of the present educational system to gear up to the developmental needs of various manpower

²Report of the Education Commission 1964-66, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1966, p. 157.

³*Wastage and Stagnation Primary and Middle School in India*, National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), 1969.

⁴Report of the Education Commission, 1966, *op. cit.*, p. 159.



requirements. Some other irritants in the present educational system contributing to non-students or student dropouts are inadequate trained teachers and inadequate facilities at schools such as teaching aids, play material, etc., to attract the child to school and make him hold on to it. Also the system has no provision for lending support in adequate measure to those who lag behind in studies and bring them on par with others.

Important among the socio-environmental factors are the lack of proper appreciation of the school work by the parents and also of the advantages that accrue to their ward by allowing him to continue his schooling. Early marriage of girls, opposition in some communities to sending girls to co-educational schools, inadequate facilities at home, particularly in the case of pupils from low income families, to do home assignments given to them by their teachers, lack of supervision from elders are all factors that make the pupils from the poorer sections look away from schools.

Thus it is evident that a long term solution to the problem of non-students lies in the economic development of the country itself⁵ But since the problem under consideration is concerning the welfare of a sizable segment of the future labour force, it does not appear to be advisable to postpone the attempts to control it for, as the years pass by, it may get more and more difficult to tackle. A number of measures have already been taken under various developmental schemes to bring down the percentage of non-student population in the country such as opening more schools, revising the school curricula, introducing craft-classes, distributing school books and uniforms free to the deserving students, serving mid-day meals, promoting schemes for better nutrition, arranging vocational training and guidance, etc. These measures can be divided into two broad categories on the basis of the immediate objective they intend to serve. The first is of those which aim to bring the non-student back to the school and the second is of those which help a non-student to get a remunerative employment by equipping him with suitable skills and with placement service.

PROGRAMME OBJECTIVES FOR NON-STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES

It is generally agreed that in the case of non-students below the age of 11, the objective of all welfare programmes covering them should be to bring them back to the general school curricula. This has to be so because in one of the directive principles of state policy of the Indian Constitution (Sec. 45) it has been laid down that all children below 14 years of age be provided with free school education. In the case of non-students above 11 but below 14 years the aim of welfare programmes should also be to retain them in the general school, but provide them an option in their school curriculum, if they so desire, to

⁵Report of the Education Commission, 1966, *op. cit.*, p. 157.



equip themselves with some occupational skills so that once they reach 14, the age at which they are legally permitted to take up employment, they can go in for some remunerative job or pursue further training in the skills of their choice. In the case of non-students above 14, it is generally recommended that they be given training in some suitable vocational crafts depending upon their past educational attainment. This, however, does not mean that the doors of general school education should be closed to them. In case they desire so, they should still be given all possible encouragement to continue their general education.

The attention in what follows is on school dropouts in the ages around 14, particularly from the urban areas. The considerations that prompted the choice are that the unemployed in that age group are highly prone to delinquency, unless cared for in time and in a proper manner. Also those who are employed for wages, it is generally reported, are subject to gross exploitation.⁶ On both the counts, it is imperative that there should be some facility to ensure proper guidance and placement of the school dropouts in the ages mentioned. The question is to what extent is this facility forthcoming from the existing vocational training and placement arrangements. This is to be examined first.

Foremost among the vocational training programmes are those at the industrial training institutes (ITIs). Though the minimum educational qualification prescribed for admission in the ITIs for most of the trades is standard VIII or IX pass, they are sought and secured by candidates with a far higher level of educational attainment. Non-matriculantes usually find it difficult to get admission.⁷ This apart, the training in ITIs is highly institutionalised and adaptation of the curricula to the changing demand patterns is slow to come about. The training period is considerably long, extending from 9 months to 2 years. Though stipends and dress allowance, etc., are given to the trainees, the parents of the school dropouts find it financially difficult to maintain their wards for the full duration of the training. Thus, as things stand, much reliance cannot be placed on ITIs for help in respect of school dropouts.

So it appears is the case of training envisaged under the Apprentice Act, 1961. Though legally there is no bar on children of 14 years and above seeking training under the provisions of the Act, in practice the preference is for candidates in the higher age groups and with better qualifications. In fact the Act was amended in 1973 to include the training of engineering graduates under its purview.⁸ On account of the various administrative lapses, a number of small factories and trades at the semi-skilled level, which are best suited to

⁶Report of the National Commission on Labour, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Labour, & Employment and Rehabilitation, 1969, pp. 384-85.

⁷Report of the Education Commission 1964-66, *op.cit.*, p. 371.

⁸Annual Report of the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, New Delhi, 1976-77, Volume II, p. 1, 5.



school dropouts, are generally observed to be not included in the coverage. As in the case of ITIs, the candidates might be getting stipend during their training, but there is no guarantee of a regular placement in the establishments providing apprenticeship facility.

The programme of imparting vocational training within the frame of general school curricula is a major reform effort initiated in recent years towards attuning education to manpower requirements.⁹ But it appears doubtful whether the programme would be able to provide the necessary help to school dropouts. A major deterring factor is the long duration of the training envisaged (2+ years). The emphasis is also seen to be on retaining the pupils in the school stream rather than help them in immediate employment. In addition, since admissions to the vocational training are open to all, some of the courses for which the prospects are good are secured by students who have no family or other compulsions to seek immediate employment.¹⁰

Besides, some vocational training programmes are run by organisations like Small-scale Industries Service Organisation; Central Social Welfare Board; Village and Cottage Industries Commission; Central Ministry of Agriculture, etc. As these programmes are generally oriented to persons already pursuing some trade or craft, in order to supplement their skills, much cannot be expected from them to meet the particular needs of school dropouts.

Turning to placement per se, the major facility is the employment exchange with its network spread over important places in the country. The exchange helps to effect placements of the job seekers registered with them, against the vacancies notified by employers as per the stipulations of the Compulsory Notification of Vacancies Act 1959, or otherwise. Provision exists for specialised services in respect of the physically handicapped, the scheduled castes and tribes, ex-servicemen, persons retrenched from public sector projects etc.¹¹

⁹Reference here is primarily to the scheme of vocationalisation of education at the +2 stage under the 10+2 system launched in February 1977. As this scheme is still at the experimental stage (vide, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Department of Education 1977-78, p. 9) it is not possible to make any detailed comments on it. It may be stated that this scheme is in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Education Commission 1964-66 (Report, *op. cit.*, chapters II and V).

¹⁰In this connection the comments made by the Education Commission on the functioning of the junior technical schools and technical high schools which also try to combine general education with technical training, are very relevant (vide, Report of the Education Commission 1966, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72).

¹¹Government of India, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Annual Report 1978-79, Volume II, pp. 1-2. The total number of employment exchanges functioning in the country at the end of 1978 was 601. These included 66 University Employment Information & Guidance Bureaux; 15 Professional and Executive Employment Officers, 8 Colliery Exchanges, 11 Project Employment Exchanges, 16 Special Employment Exchanges for the Physically Handicapped and 1 Special Exchange for Plantation Labour. In addition, 190 (Provisional) Employment Information & Assistance Bureaux to cater to the needs of rural areas were also functioning in different community development blocks. Vide, Annual Report of the Ministry of Labour & Employment, Government of India (1978-79), Volume II, p. 8.

The school dropouts do not however find a place among these special categories. They have to queue up alongwith the general category. Apart from this, an examination of the present placement strategies of the exchanges suggests that the accent is increasingly on the educated, *i.e.*, graduates and other technically well qualified. One cannot have any dispute with this strategy, for, the nation has invested considerably in the educated and their employment could be expected to yield better returns to the national product than that of school dropouts. Certainly the placement requirements of the latter cannot take precedence over that of the former. At the same time since the school dropouts constitute a significant number, their interests cannot be ignored altogether for long.

With rapid industrialisation in the country, the demand for new hands is bound to arise at all levels of technical skill. In view of the large scale unemployment among the educated, it might appear as a good proposition to train and place them in jobs even at the semi-skilled level. The educated also on their part might show willingness to accept such jobs. But in all likelihood, they would be constantly attempting to shift to the white collar jobs, even if that meant lower remuneration, because of the social values in vogue. So in the long run the scheme might not prove to be an advantageous investment. On the other hand, school dropouts can be expected to fill in the bill very well at the semi-skilled levels. They may not only hold on to their jobs for a longer period, but be contented too.

The discussion in the foregoing paragraphs clearly indicates the need for launching a separate scheme for the training of school dropouts in the vocational skills and placement. The broad guidelines in that regard are:¹²

1. Training should be linked to immediate employment opportunities. In other words, it should be localised and should be for jobs that are expected to come up locally in the near future.
2. The programme should be in such areas where the skills could be acquired in a short time and for which the trainees need not be highly qualified.
3. The course content, the timing, and the intake of trainees in respect of each training course, etc., should be decided as the situation demands.
4. The overhead charges should be kept as low as possible. To this end, the possibilities of utilising the facilities in local institutions, general and vocational, should be fully explored before launching a training course. Thus, the programme visualised here is not traditional institution based, but largely ad hoc, each course adjusted to suit local demand.

¹²These are drawn keeping in view the suggestions made by the Education Commission in respect of vocationalisation of education, vide, Report, *op. cit.*, pp .160 and 376.

5. In order to achieve the immediate objective of placement, there should be close liaison between the industry and the organisers of the training schemes both at the formulation and implementation stages.

PROGRAMME

The planning of a training course according to above specification involves five major steps. They are:

1. Determining the number of school dropouts in the area, their age, educational attainment, present occupation, aspirations, financial or other resources of the parents.
2. Identification of the local employment opportunities, the type of trades, the number of jobs and the trends thereof.
3. Enlistment of the cooperation of the employers both in running the training course and also towards the final placement of the trainees.
4. Securing the resources—finances, trainers, workshop and class-room facilities, etc.
5. Establishment of an organisation to coordinate the above four stages.

Determining the Number of School Dropouts

There are broadly two approaches for finding out the particulars about the school dropout population in a particular area. One is field survey and the other is to depend on the secondary data. A major secondary source of data is the school enrolment records. By comparing the registers of all the schools located in the area over a period, it is possible to arrive at a rough estimate of the number of school dropouts, their educational attainment, family background, etc. But a serious limitation of this estimation is that it assumes that those who discontinued or failed to re-enroll in the higher level school are school dropouts. It is quite possible that the pupils concerned might have discontinued on account of their parents shifting to some other place and there they might be still continuing their education. In any case tracking down the school dropouts solely on the basis of school records is not an easy task. Further, the school records do not provide essential information on aspects like the present status of the school dropouts, their employment aspirations, etc. For collecting information in this respect, some field investigation may become necessary, though the school records could be a good starting point.

Assessing the Employment Opportunities

Assessing the employment opportunities for the school dropouts involves two types of estimations, one in respect of employment for wages (salaries) and the other in respect of self-employment. In both the cases, the basic data could be obtained either through field investigations or from secondary

sources. As regards employment with factories and other establishments, the chief secondary source is the market information data periodically brought out by the Directorate General of Employment and Training. A major drawback is that except the establishments in the public sector and the major medium units in the private sector, a large number of small establishments are not under any obligation to intimate the vacancies with them.

The second major source is the census. The inter-census variations in the occupational structure in a particular area could be utilised for making demand projections about the employment opportunities in that area.

A third source is the five-year development plans. The development plans worked out in respect of a particular area could serve as the basis for estimating the employment potentials in that area. But, unfortunately, except in the case of metropolitan and other special regions, area planning, say, for the districts or smaller towns, is yet find its firm moorings in this country.

The licences issued for the location of certain big industries is another source which can be made use of for estimating employment, direct and indirect (in the ancillary units, in the services sector, etc.), that are likely to come up around that location. But if the past experience is any indication there would be generally a long time gap between the issue of a licence and the establishment of an industry and at times the industry may not come up at all.

Yet another important source which could provide the necessary lead for the estimation is the 'discussions with the knowledgeable persons' *i.e.*, officials, publicmen, academicians, etc., from the area.¹³

The estimations based on such secondary data could provide broad magnitudes of the demand for various categories of workers. But this may not be sufficient for working out all the details of a training course. Some information like the skills and the experience expected, wages payable, etc., might have to be collected through field investigation of the prospective employers themselves.

The major deterring factors in the case of field surveys are the high costs and the long time involved for completing the investigations. Therefore, it is generally suggested that in the determination of both the number of school dropouts and the employment opportunities for them, it is advisable to adopt a combination of field survey and compilations from secondary sources. Such an approach could be expected to bring down the costs and time considerably.

Enlisting the Employers' Cooperation

A certain percentage of school dropouts trained in occupational skills could be expected to go in for self-employment, but as things stand at present,

¹³Education and Manpower Coordination—A Survey Design (Mimeographed), Bombay, Government of Maharashtra, Finance Department, 1971, p. 11.

a large majority would be wanting to be employed for wages. It is desirable then to associate prospective employers all through, *i.e.*, from the planning stage of the training programme. One way of ensuring employers' cooperation is by imposing certain statutory obligations as under the Apprentice Act 1961. But there is a danger of employers following such stipulation more in breach than in spirit. Further, since the primary objective of the training is to secure immediate employment, the statutory enforcement may not be of help. Employers have to be convinced of the advantages accruing to them in participating in the programme and in that regard a persuasive approach might be more effective. But in that process the interests of the school dropouts should not be sacrificed. An appropriate balance between the two approaches has to be struck and the ingenuity of the organisers counts a lot in this respect.

Finances

Since economic backwardness of the families is one of the major reasons for school dropouts, any training scheme intended for them should include some financial incentives to the trainees. This is particularly needed for those already employed (though for very low wages) to help them to come forward to partake in the programme. One suggestion is to provide stipends during the training as is done in the case of trainees of ITIs, etc. The second suggestion is for loans for undergoing the training, to be recovered in instalments after they have secured jobs. This requires either the employer or some other agency standing guarantee for repayment of the loan by the trainee. Such an undertaking is difficult to get. Another suggestion is provision of part-time employment during the training period by the employers participating in the programme. This enables the candidates to earn while learning new skills. The prospective employer and employee could also know in the process about each other well before the permanent absorption.

The finances for meeting the expenses on trainers' equipment, etc., could be secured under some of the employment promotion programmes provided for in the five year development plan like those for the educated unemployed, etc. As stated earlier, the employment of school dropouts is an important social service, deserving due consideration in the developmental activities.

Other resources like class room accommodation, training tools, etc., may at times prove more difficult than the finances. This is so because the training courses envisaged are essentially of short duration and of the nature of a crash programme. As stated earlier, the range of skills and the method of training of each training course may have to be decided according to the varying demands of the situation. Therefore, the number of trainers, the type of training equipment required, etc., may have to be decided and secured on an *ad hoc* basis. The cooperation of local technical educational institutions for running the courses is, therefore, highly desirable.

Organisation

In the establishment of an organisation for managing the programme under discussion, two factors may be taken special note of. First is that the training courses envisaged have to be highly local in character, to match the occupational needs of the school dropouts with the emerging job opportunities in a particular area. The cooperation of the employers, educational institutions, etc., preferably on a voluntary basis, would be required to keep down the costs. The organisation could be set up within those State departments which control the industrial training institutes. But there is the danger of the usual rigidities of a state agency seriously curtailing the flexibility that would be locally required. The advantage therefore seems to lie in the constitution of local autonomous agencies with representatives from industry, voluntary service organisations etc. Such an agency could be located under the auspices of the municipal council in the case of areas with population of 1,00,000 and above, and in the case of rest of the areas in the zila parishad (district board)/panchayat samitis. Incidentally this proposition would be in line with the recommendation made by the Education Commission for decentralisation of educational (general as well as vocational) administration in the country.¹⁴



¹⁴Report of the Education Commission 1964-66, *op. cit.*, p. 45

Innovative Approaches in Management of Child Welfare Services—A Case Study

Mina Swaminathan

AN OUTSTANDING characteristic of child welfare services in the country is the gap that is often found to exist between policies and schemes as conceived and their actual execution in the field. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to study in some depth the workings of an agency which has evolved a structure and procedures enabling objectives to be translated into action with a fair degree of success. A small voluntary agency with a scattered programme functioning in urban areas, Mobile Creches (Delhi and Bombay), provides such an example.

Before analysing the elements of its success, one must ask, what is mobile creches? Today an agency which runs a chain of day-care centres in Delhi and Bombay for the children of underprivileged working women, either living on construction sites or in resettlement colonies, mobile creches for working mothers' children developed from a simple response to the inhuman neglect of young children of migrant construction labour on large construction sites in Delhi.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MIGRANT CHILD

Unskilled labour from the rural areas of nearby States like Rajasthan, these workers move from site to site according to the availability of work. In such families, both men and women have of necessity to work in order to make both ends meet. Usually, the families live in temporary huts on the work-sites themselves, without benefit of even the barest civic amenities such as water supply, sanitation, garbage disposal, etc., leave aside more elaborate facilities such as medical or educational services. The Contract Labour Act which makes provision for the hygiene, welfare and living and working condition of unskilled labour employed in such circumstances, is more often honoured in the breach than in the observance. Civic authorities do not concern themselves with the provision of services, as the huts are temporary settlements, and contractors provide the barest minimum acceptable to people who are used to rough conditions. Children under these circumstances grow up in a harsh environment exposed to the severest health hazards, besides

being neglected by parents, of necessity, and by the larger society. Since the migratory families are nuclear, and both parents are at work, the care of the babies is left to the slightly older children, who also perform other duties like fetching water, keeping watch over huts, cooking and carrying food to the parents, etc. Thus the older children are simultaneously deprived of the chance of an education, even if the migratory nature of the work allowed them to go to school. The sight of such children wandering among the rubble heaps of construction sites is common enough, but it was not till Mobile Creches was launched in 1969 that any serious response to the problem appeared.

Starting with a simple creche in a tent, intended to care for the infants alone, the organisation quickly found itself up against several problems. First, the poor health and sanitary conditions in the labour camps made the running of a creche a far from simple baby sitting enterprise, but involved a complex chain of activities including clinical and preventive health, nutrition and creation of basic standards of child care for children in such circumstances. Second, the older children had to be catered to, and this meant the evolution of a programme of nursery and primary education which would not only keep the children engaged, but be suited to the special needs and requirements of the situation. Third, the virtual absence of any category of workers, trained to deal with such a wide range or such a wide variety of skills and activities, led to the setting up and slow evolution of a programme of training and to the combination of training with management which is characteristic of the programme today. Lastly, the need to communicate with parents and to involve the adult community in the programme led to the development of a programme of adult education side by side. In addition, there were the usual teething problems of recognition, funding, accommodation, etc., besides the special ones of working with building contractors and coordinating with several government departments. Later on, the agency carried day-care programmes to resettlement colonies, catering to the needs of children of working mothers belonging to the lowest economic groups, engaged in such occupations as domestic service, scavenging, hawking and vending, waste collection, etc. With some modification, the same programme design is offered.

THE PROGRAMME AS IT IS TODAY

At any given time, there are about 30 centres in operation in Delhi and about 20 in Bombay. On construction sites, the centres are housed in very simple accommodation provided by the contractors, either a small two-room shed with a little open enclosed space in front of it and an elementary kitchen-cum-store or similar accommodation improvised in a semi-finished portion of the building under construction. In resettlements, low-cost structures using local materials have been put up to house the centres. Children in the age-group 0-14 are to be found in the centres. For convenience, they are



divided into groups: creche (0-3)-balwadi (3-6) and 6+ in informal primary education. In practice, however, the grouping is not rigid, and there is considerable freedom of movement. This enables older children to comfort and take care of younger ones keeping the infants on their laps or beside them when they study or play, while the babies return to their own age group as they develop self confidence. The daily creche routines emphasise cleanliness, habit formation, nutrition and affectionate interaction with adults. One of a panel of doctors visits each centre once a week for treatment of cases, and advice on preventive health, and follow-up is done by the staff. On construction sites, mothers come in once or twice a day to breast-feed infants. Advice to mothers on health, nutrition, family planning and child care is usually given informally during such meetings during the day or when the staff goes on their daily morning rounds. The daily programme for the 3-6 consists of a wide variety of structured and unstructured play, using simple low-cost and easily available and replaceable materials and equipment. Educational games, arts and crafts, experiences with natural materials, songs and dances form the core of this programme which gradually prepares the child, through participation in a structured programme, for the more formal business of learning the three 'rs.' The 6+ get more formal lessons in language, mathematics and social studies, and are helped to acquire the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, but still using informal methods, stressing play, games, and handwork. Older children, who have been helped to local municipal schools, usually come back for at least a few hours every day for personal tutorial help, and participation in other activities like arts, music, games and sports, etc. The usual daily routine is as follows: early morning cleaning and setting up of the centre with the help of all staff members, daily visits to all the homes to collect the children and meet the parents, cleaning of the children, milk, games and prayers. Between 10 a.m. and midday, organised play and educational activities for each age-group according to age-level; at twelve noon, a supplementary mid-day meal of porridge with vegetables followed by group clean-up. The afternoons are spent in a variety of informal activities with emphasis on arts, music, gardening, story-telling and reading followed by games and sports, outdoors when weather permits. Late in the evening, after 7 p.m., literacy classes are held for men and women separately, for two hours, five nights a week, mostly staffed by the same people who work with the children during the day.

Occasional programmes include parents' meetings; special demonstrations and discussions for women; performances by an educational drama troupe set up by the agency; celebration of community festivals, etc. By and large, the same staff is required to perform all tasks.

The Programme and Management Implications

1. *Comprehensiveness*—All age groups from birth onwards are included in some way and at some time or the other. This makes the task heavy and

difficult, but varied; however, continuity of attention and reinforcement to the child is possible, especially in resettlement areas where the population is stable. On work sites, where there is heavy turnover of labour, individual follow-up is difficult.

Implication: flexibility and variety in programme to meet all needs, adaptability, quickness of response in staff and personal concern and interest in individuals and their growth.

2. *Integration*—The programme includes within its range health care work, education, play, recreation, arts and crafts, adult literacy/extension and communication with adults.

Implication: multipurpose staff with the skills and abilities to deal in the course of the day with all these varying aspects, and to create a home like informal atmosphere.

3. *Relevance*—The programme is closely geared to the needs and conditions of the community it serves.

Implication: familiarity with and understanding of the problems through constant study and appropriate means to communicate knowledge effectively.

4. *Flexibility*—The programme has evolved in a variety of ways and is flexible in several senses; it is simple enough physically to operate with limited equipment and to be able to move at short notice, hence the name; local problems have to be solved locally and decisions taken on the spot according to circumstances.

Implication: resourcefulness and initiative on the part of the staff is necessary as well as a decentralised administration which makes it possible for initiative to be exercised at all levels.

EVOLUTION OF THE STRUCTURE

It is worth repeating that the present structure, procedures and organisation of recruitment, training and management have evolved over a period of years through a process of trial and error, and largely guided by non-professionals with no preconceived notions of management. The constraints and limitations of the situation have also played a part in the evolution.

The basic structure of the organisation can be seen at three levels: (a) field, (b) supervisory, and (c) managerial. Each will be considered under the following heads: (i) functions and required job characteristics, (ii) recruitment, (iii) training, and (iv) development.

Field Staff

Functions: The worker in a centre functions as a multipurpose worker. This implies that an individual has to be able to do several tasks, be adaptable, quick, flexible, but may, as a result, never become highly skilled in any one particular activity. Even more important is the ability and willingness to participate in an atmosphere of sharing and equality. Within centres there is

no hierarchy. Though each centre is managed by an in charge, specific tasks like cleaning or teaching are not associated with individuals, but all must be willing to join in all work. The willingness to engage in the heavy manual work, often dirty, involved in child care is an important attribute in a culture in which such activities are stigmatised.

Recruitment: Workers are selected for aptitude and then involved in a process of continuous in-service training. The minimum qualification is high school though women with no or lower educational qualifications are also accepted for work in the creches if they are otherwise suitable. The recruitment is essentially through a process of self-screening—aspirants are sent out to work in centres under the guidance of experienced field staff. Those who feel uncomfortable either with the nature of the work or the working atmosphere with its absence of hierarchy or class divisions of tasks, drop out within the first few weeks or days.

Training: Training, which is essentially practical and field-oriented, may be conceptualised in four stages. The first stage is that of exposure to the on-going work, with limited participation. This coincides with a period of screening and may be a few weeks in duration. The second stage is the field training under the guidance of experienced and senior staff. It basically consists in acquisition of basic skills, procedures and routines through a process of drilling and repetition, and imitation of role models. The third stage is that of rationalisation, where a theoretical element enters. Through a series of discussions and workshop sessions, the worker explores and learns the basis of the various routines, the need and relevance of various skills, and the underlying objectives and meaning of the programme. The process is inductive and participatory, in which the trainee starts with the immediate and concrete daily experience, analyses it and arrives hopefully at the underlying principles. These workshop sessions are conducted by the supervisory staff, with some assistance from resource personnel, using a variety of participatory methods, involving games, visual aids, role play, etc. This stage of the training lasts for a year or more, during which time new skills are also constantly taught. The fourth stage is that of problem solving, an on-going process in which people *at all levels* are continually involved. Workers with more than two years work experience gradually get involved, are promoted to training and supervisory work, participate more in problem solving discussions.

Development: Some turnover is inevitable in any institution with largely female staff and this is compounded by the low salaries. Yet stability of staff has been achieved to a considerable extent by: (a) the availability of job security and some benefits such as medical care, provident fund and gratuity, interest free loans, etc., (b) fixed grades with regular increments, and (c) the possibility of rapid promotion through several grades. Initial salaries are deliberately kept very low to allow for the rapid turnover in the first few months of service, during which time the worker anyway is still under

training and brings in less than is put into him/her. All promotion is the outcome of fairly elaborate annual exercise in evaluation in which each worker is assessed by two others at a higher level, and then reviewed by a group at the supervisory/managerial level. For the individual, this links performance with promotion. While rises are never automatic, there is the possibility of rapid movement in responsibility, position, function as well as in salary. Several dramatic instances exist within the institution to act as constant reminders of this possibility.

Supervisors

Functions: Known as trainer/supervisors, they perform the double role of training and guidance as well as field supervision. They play a key part in maintaining internal communication and participate in policy making. The functions of a supervisor include the following: contact with local community and study of its problems, organising facilities at local level, all activities and programmes with children, field guidance of new staff, recruitment, discipline and management and training of staff, preventive health work in the community, maintenance of records, accounts, preparation of reports, negotiations with contractors on work sites, and involvement in policy issues through discussion at regular meetings.

Recruitment: The supervisory cadre consists of people with varying educational qualifications (high school to MA) and specialised training (B.Eds. MSW, and dietetics, etc.) but having in common long exposure in the field and practical experience of handling problems. There is no lateral entry by direct recruitment to this cadre, a few experiments in that direction have proved disastrous in the inability to engender appropriate skills or confidence on the part of the field staff. This practical training enables them to act as examples to the field staff.

Training and Development: Training and development proceeds through apprenticeship to more experienced person. Time is allotted for participation in the formal training programme of field staff. Resource people and persons at the managerial level in turn guide and direct, conduct refresher courses on specialised areas, while self-study helps to upgrade knowledge and skills in various disciplines. The forum for decision-making problems-solving and exchange of experiences, which is itself an educational and staff development activity, is the fortnightly supervisory meeting. This meeting is also an exercise in collective decision-making and training methodology.

Management

The management consists of a governing body of ten people drawn from a somewhat larger group which forms the society. The constitution of the registered society lays down that office-bearers and members of the governing body have to be drawn only from among those who are 'actively' associated with the day-to-day work. As a result, the chairman, secretary, and several



other members of the group (five at present) also carry executive responsibility for field supervision and direction of the day-to-day programme. In their capacity as executive officers, they are paid workers, also on regular though modest grades with service benefits, etc.

Function: Multi-purpose functioning is expected even at this level, as in addition to responsibility for assigned functions, members are also expected to carry the load of the various honorary offices by rotation and to lend a hand at chores when needed.

Recruitment: Both professionals and non-professionals have been inducted into the group. The primary qualification, besides the one already mentioned of willingness to be actively involved in an executive capacity, is the sharing of a common work-style and approach. No special consideration is given to academic or professional qualifications, but as with the supervisory cadre, position and salary are related, not to academic qualifications, but to the level of responsibility effectively carried.

Training and development result from induction of new members, regular interaction within the group, observation and study, programme monitoring and participation in the in-service training.

PROCEDURES FOR ADMINISTRATION AND COMMUNICATION

The key personnel for administration and communication within this three-level system are the supervisor/trainers. Each supervisor has responsibility for two centres. This permits them to spend at least two full days a week in each, even allowing for the demands made by their other functions of training, record-keeping, etc. Besides, for administrative convenience, centres have been grouped into zones of four or five centres, under the overall care of a senior person, known as a zonal supervisor. This permits for interaction and consultation between two persons at least in dealing with problems, at the immediate field level.

There is exchange of views, adjustment, sharing, guidance of the newer or less experienced supervisor by a more experienced one; above all early introduction to the principle of joint decision-making as well as of accountability at the primary level.

The basic mechanism of operation is the fortnightly meeting (backed up by a monthly smaller meeting of zonal supervisors). The functions of the meeting are: (a) opportunity to consult and seek guidance on the solution of specific problems, (b) coordination and programme planning, (c) communication, (d) collation and maintenance of records, (e) checks on disbursement of supplies, salaries and matters connected with expenditure in cash or kind, (f) discussion of basic issues pertaining to policy, and (g) administrative problems relating to staff.

In addition, small groups meet to prepare for training sessions and special educational meetings are held for refreshing knowledge or technique. The



'smaller group of zonal supervisors meets once a month to thrash out issues in greater detail, and also to deal with problems of staffing and management more fully. Mutual consultation in such matters over a period of time has led to an agreed system of joint decision-making. It is customary now to classify all problems into two groups; those which can and should be dealt with immediately at the local level, where there is a premium on speed and initiative; and those which need to be referred back to the group for discussion. The first type of problems may also be raised for further discussion, or even brought up merely as illustration, at any subsequent time.

Other Channels of Communication

Parallel with these meetings, other groups of workers also meet at regular intervals. Incharges of centres meet twice a month—once for a training session on some specific topic or problem, once a month for general review of programme individual problems, settlement of monthly accounts, planning of programmes and other routine/administrative matters.

All workers are grouped and attend at least one group meeting or training session each month. These would be concerned with demonstration and training for activities related to some special topic; the groups are usually divided as creche, balwadi, non-formal, etc. In addition, there are specialised groups helping to develop individual skills, or for the creation of specialist cadres such as arts and crafts, music, dance and drama, community health workers, etc. These specialised cadres are intended to strengthen special talents and provide special knowledge. The specialised workers are however drawn from the core programme, and continue to retain their ability and willingness to turn their hand to whatever is required in any situation. Any individual worker must attend at least one group session every month, and may, in fact, attend two. This continuous contact, besides administrative convenience and ongoing development of staff, also acts as an immediate channel of communication.

This is the horizontal channel of communication in which workers meet across centres in larger groups, for the purpose of training sessions, during which they come into contact with supervisors other than their own immediate one, resource persons, and administrators.

Vertically, workers are grouped in centres, each under an incharge guided by a supervisor, and under the overall care of a zonal supervisor. This is their vertical channel of communication.

Once or twice a year, the entire staff at all three levels joins in a social gathering. The basic purpose of this is to create a sense of solidarity and oneness with fellow workers and this is achieved mostly by informal interaction at a picnic or excursion. However, on some occasions, some planned educational components are also introduced.



Managerial Strategies and their Outcomes

From this brief description of how the system operates, one may derive the following underlying principles which have been applied:

Equal pay for equal work: Payment (both in terms of prestige and in terms of money) is related to responsibility and competence. Once the same level is achieved, the reward is the same, regardless of earlier experience or educational qualification. These play a part only, enabling the better qualified to get a higher start at the entry point, but allows the competent, hard-working and responsible worker to catch up. This principle applies at all levels.

Team work: The stress is on collective action and responsibility and the success of the team; an individual worker, even with specialised skills, is multipurpose, and hence can in emergencies always be replaced. This makes for mutual respect and tolerance and strengthens ability to work cooperatively.

Collective decision making: This applies at all levels and allows for the participation of all in the decision-making processes through the various group meetings. The same system applies at the managerial level.

Democratic functioning: Lack of hierarchy in tasks, an informal atmosphere in centres, participatory methods in training, consultation in framing programme.

Respect for demonstrated and demonstrable ability as the foundation of authority: No tasks are demanded at any level which are not performed capably, and shown to be so performed constantly, by those in authority. Respect for work is also shown in the high value placed on manual work and on physical participation in all tasks, the lack of class/caste system in this regard, so different from the usual ayah/sweeper/peon/clerk type of hierarchy. Practical achievement in the field is applied as the criterion of success.

Decentralised decision-making and solving of local problems at local level: With high rewards for improvisation, initiative, flexibility, responsiveness and innovativeness. The examples of these are regularly collected, quoted and made the basis for further training by discussion.

Two-way communication—both vertical and horizontal: Permitting feedback as well as a chain of command.

Outcomes

The structure and functioning of this system has enabled mobile creches to come up with solutions to some problems usually met with among child welfare personnel in large schemes of work. Briefly, these may be summarised under the expression 'job commitment'. In spite of low pay, long hours of work, constant supervision, demanding schedules, and tough working conditions most of the people at work look fairly happy and involved and, what is more important, the staff turnover is, under the circumstances, very low after the initial screening period. What are the rewards, then, of such a job, which makes people stay on? First, there is a pleasant, homely and informal



working atmosphere in which laughing, singing and playing enter as naturally as performing chores and the youthfulness of the workers is allowed free scope, so different from the rigidly stratified and restricted social background from which the majority of lower middle class workers come. Second, the screening process retains only those with some interest. Third, the opportunity to identify with the institution comes through the various forms of participation. Fourth, rapid promotion opportunities prevent stagnation and frustration at work, and legitimate channels exist for airing personal problems and grievances. Fifth, opportunities to take responsibility, show leadership, take decisions, act speedily, arise daily. They not only allow the more able to show their qualities but lead to a growth in concern, interest and involvement for all. Sixth, the tremendous variety of activities encompassed within a single day precludes boredom of any kind and possibly even compensates for fatigue and sheer physical exhaustion.

Lastly, some may also get satisfaction out of the fact that they are learning while they are earning, in two senses. Not only are individual skills and talents discovered, used and nurtured further, but many also go through the conventional process of educating themselves and obtaining degrees while they are at work. All these elements, which are the planned outcomes of certain managerial strategies, create the sense of commitment and concern which separates the job 'merely done' from the job 'well done' and which is at the root of quality in programme. It is this which enables the programme objectives of comprehensiveness, integration, relevance, continuity and flexibility to be fulfilled effectively. The wheel comes full circle, relating management practices, workers' satisfaction and programme objectives.

CONCLUSION

Can 'dedication' and 'innovativeness' be replicated?

It is a common place among bureaucrats, especially when on the defensive, to ascribe the success of voluntary agencies to a mysterious quality known as 'dedication' or to the charismatic personality of a particular 'social worker', implying that these personal qualities, which are acts of God and cannot be duplicated by man, are alone responsible for success and there is no need to try to achieve. The above analysis should at least explode this myth. Dedication far from falling like manna from the heavens, in unexpected places, is something which can be encouraged and cultivated by the application of sound principles of organisational behaviour. It is time child welfare administrators ceased to take refuge behind such lazy and hypocritical banalities and, instead, took a good hard look at various productive and counter-productive management systems. To do otherwise is to beg the issue.

Another favourite debating point is whether so-called 'innovativeness' can be institutionalised, or, to put it differently, whether people can be trained to be 'creative'. Here too the above analysis would indicate the possibility to



be real by creating means which permit, encourage, and reward such qualities whenever they appear.

The answer to both these questions, then, is 'yes, if you set about it in the right way'. ! If a systems approach has any relevance at all to welfare/administration, then it should be able with the help of such case studies, to tell us what steps are implied in the expression 'the right way'.



Integrated Child Development Services Scheme

S. Kapoor

CHILDREN ARE the most important asset of a country because they will be tomorrow's young men and provide the human potential required for a country's development. It is, therefore, imperative that today's child should be healthy both physically and mentally so that tomorrow he turns into an energetic and dynamic young man with alert mind and is able to contribute the maximum to the national development. Thus efforts to improve the well-being of children is not only a humanitarian concern but a solid step towards the future economic and social development of the country.

The Government of India has also recognised children as a 'supremely important asset' and that is why the needs of children and our duty towards them are enshrined in our Constitution. Article 39 of the Constitution has laid down in a nutshell our duties and responsibilities towards our children. According to it the tender age of children should not be abused and childhood and youth should be protected against moral and material abandonment.

NATIONAL POLICY

Realising children as an important asset, the Government of India adopted a national policy for children in 1974. This resolution said:

It shall be the policy of the state to provide adequate services to children both before and after birth and through the period of growth, to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. The state shall progressively increase the scope of such services so that, within a reasonable time, all children in the country enjoy optimum conditions for their balanced growth.

The national policy enlists about fifteen measures which should be taken up to fulfil its objectives.

The early years in a child's life are of crucial importance to him. A major part of the child's mental development and the formation of his bones, etc., takes place in the first six years of his life. It is, therefore, necessary that proper care is taken at least during the first six years of their life so that they are helped to be healthy children and then healthy men.



India ranks second in population in the world today. According to the 1971 census, the total Indian population was 547 million of which 42 per cent, *i.e.*, about 228 million, were children in the age group 0-14 years. Out of these 228 million, 188 million lived in rural areas. There were about 115 million children in the age group 0-6 years, constituting about 1/5th of the total population.

Maternal and infant mortality rates are very high. In 1971 the infant mortality rate was around 122 per thousand. This rate is the highest among children less than one year of age.

Morbidity rate among children is also very high. It is estimated that 75 per cent of the child population can be classified as not healthy due to illness. This high rate is largely attributed to unfavourable and insanitary environmental conditions, particularly in villages and urban slums. Many infections among children like diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera, typhoid and hepatitis are caused by infected food also.

There is plenty of evidence to show that malnutrition is widely prevalent among Indian children. India's level of protein intake appears to be among the world's lowest. Actually young children, pregnant women and nursing mothers need more calories and protein. Malnutrition and disease have a synergy relationship. According to a survey conducted by the National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, nearly a million Indian children die every year mainly due to malnutrition and far more die due to infectious diseases which would not have developed but for the children's poor diet.

The picture above will show that for a proper development of the child it is necessary that care is taken from all angles; there can be no programme that will not suffer from some conceptual or operational limitations if undertaken in isolation.

In the first four plans in India a few child welfare programmes were started but they generally covered just one or the other aspects of child welfare, with the result that their impact was not felt as much as it should have been. No coordinated strategy for child development programme was evolved till the Fifth Plan when the scheme of 'integrated child development services' was worked out.

THE ICDS SCHEME

Integrated child development services (ICDS) scheme involves the delivery of a package of services to children in the age group 0-6 years. The concept of providing such a package is primarily based on the fact that the combined effect of a few essential services will be more than if these services are delivered in isolation.

The objectives of the ICDS scheme are:

- (i) To improve the nutritional and health status of children in the



age group 0-6 years.

- (ii) To lay the foundations for proper psychological, physical and social development of the child.
- (iii) To reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school dropout.
- (iv) To achieve effectively coordination of policy and implementation amongst the various departments to promote child development.
- (v) To enhance the capability of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child through proper nutrition and health education.

The following is the package of services which is being provided under the scheme:

- (i) Supplementary nutrition
- (ii) Immunisation
- (iii) Health check-up
- (iv) Referral services
- (v) Non-formal pre-school education
- (vi) Health and nutrition education

Availability of safe drinking water is essential for the proper development of the child and, therefore, efforts have been made for the convergence of the rural drinking water supply programme in the ICDS project areas.

TYPE OF BENEFICIARIES

As mentioned earlier also, children in the age group 0-6 years have been included as beneficiaries under the scheme. Since, for a child to be healthy, it is necessary that his mother during her pregnancy should also be healthy. pregnant women are also covered by the scheme. Nursing mothers, during the period when the child is 0-6 months old, also come under the purview of the scheme. Since the mothers plays a key role in the physical, psychological and social development of the child, women in the age group 15-44 years have also been covered under the scheme and will be given health and nutrition education. The delivery of services to the beneficiaries will be as follows:

<i>Beneficiaries</i>	<i>Services</i>
1. Children less than 3 years	(i) Supplementary nutrition (ii) Immunisation (iii) Health check-up (iv) Referral services



2. Children in the age group 3-6 years
 - (i) Supplementary nutrition
 - (ii) Immunisation
 - (iii) Health check-up
 - (iv) Referral services
 - (v) Non-formal pre-school education
3. Pregnant and nursing mothers
 - (i) Supplementary nutrition
 - (ii) Immunisation of pregnant women against tetanus
 - (iii) Health check-up
 - (iv) Referral services
 - (v) Health and nutrition education
4. Other women (15-44 years)
 - (vi) Health and nutrition education

As mentioned earlier also the ICDS scheme started in 1975. Since it was a new concept and a new scheme of its type, it was started in 33 experimental projects. It has now, however, been expanded to 150 projects with another 50 in the offing.

Since the poor economic status of children has a direct correlation with their general health and nutritional status, it was decided to start the ICDS projects in areas predominantly inhabited by poor people. In the selection of projects in rural/tribal areas, priority consideration is given to the following factors:

1. Areas predominantly inhabited by tribes, particularly backward tribes;
2. Backward areas;
3. Drought-prone areas;
4. Areas inhabited predominantly by scheduled castes;
5. Nutritionally deficient areas; and
6. Areas poor in development of social services.

In the selection of wards in urban areas, for urban projects, the priority consideration is given to:

- (a) location of slums; and
- (b) areas predominantly inhabited by scheduled castes.

The administrative unit for the location of ICDS projects is either the community development blocks in rural areas or the tribal development blocks in the predominantly tribal areas, or the wards or slums in urban areas. It is estimated that the total population of a rural project will be around 100,000 of which children in the age group 0-6 will be 17 per cent, *i.e.*, 17,000; the number of women in the age group 15-44 years will be around 20,000 and out of this the number of pregnant and nursing women will be around 7,000. This is a general pattern and varies from block to block.

Personnel and Functional Structure

Under the ICDS scheme, the focal point for the delivery of services is an anganwadi. Almost each village (a population of about 1,000) will have one anganwadi centre. This may, however, vary if the population is much different from 1,000. For actual delivery of services, an anganwadi worker (AW) will be in-charge of each anganwadi centre. The anganwadi worker will be responsible for the delivery of services to children and women at the anganwadi centre.

The anganwadi worker is an honorary worker (preferably a lady) getting an honorarium of Rs. 125 p.m. if she is not matriculate and Rs. 175 p.m. if she is matriculate. As far as possible a matriculate anganwadi worker should be employed. But the primary consideration is that the anganwadi worker should be from the same village in which she has to work. She is assisted by a helper in her daily work. The helper is also honorary and is paid an honorarium of Rs. 50 p.m.

At the block level of child development project officer (CDPO) is in charge of the whole project. The CDPO is the supervisory and controlling officer. She/he is also the main coordinating officer as far as coordination with other departments or agencies at the block level is concerned. The scheme lays down that preferably the CDPO should be a lady and should be a graduate in either home science, nutrition, child development, social work or in an allied field. The CDPO should be of the same rank as the block development officer.

The CDPO will generally supervise the work of 100 anganwadi workers in all its entirety and this is quite a heavy task. Therefore, to assist the CDPO in supervision, some supervisors (mukhyasevikas) have been provided. Generally there is one supervisor to look after the work of 20 anganwadi workers.

Apart from the above field staff, the CDPO has been provided some administrative staff for his/her own office.

For efficient delivery of health services under the scheme the health staff at the primary health centre (PHC) has been strengthened from ICDS funds. This additional health staff is:

- One doctor, preferably with diploma in child health
- Two lady health visitors/public health nurses
- Four to eight auxilliary nursing midwives scheme (ANMS).

Additional input of this staff at the PHC forms an integral part of the overall PHC structure. The implementation of the health component of the scheme will be the responsibility of the health staff although the CDPO will look after the project as a whole, seeing that the health services are also provided efficiently.



Delivery of Services

As discussed earlier, the anganwadi centre is the focus of delivery of all services to children and women. The anganwadi worker is the grassroot worker who would herself deliver or take the help of the health staff in the delivery of the various services at the centre. Her duty will be to collect the children and women who are the beneficiaries, at the anganwadi centre, for actual delivery of services to them. The helper helps her in this.

Initially, when the anganwadi worker is put on the job, she carried out a survey of her own area to find out the total number of children (0-6 years) and women (15-44 years) and the total number of pregnant and nursing mothers in the area. In this way she is able to know the exact number of beneficiaries in her area who are to be provided with the various services under the scheme. It is only after this that the actual delivery of services is taken in hand. A brief outline of each of these services is given below.

Supplementary Nutrition

Supplementary nutrition is given to children in the age group 0-6 years and to pregnant and nursing mothers from the low income families. However, only the malnourished children in the age group 0-5 years are to be provided supplementary nutrition. For finding out the malnourished children, a weight curve graph is made use of. The weight of the child according to his age is plotted on this graph and it is found out as to whether the child is malnourished or not and also in which category of malnourishment the child falls. All children who fall in the II degree of malnourishment or below are to be provided with supplementary nutrition. Children in the III and IV degree of malnutrition are severely malnourished and are given therapeutic nutrition and even children of IV degree malnutrition require hospitalisation.

All the pregnant and nursing mothers from the families of agricultural labourers, marginal farmers and other poor sections of the community are to be enlisted for supplementary nutrition.

As far as the type of food is concerned, first priority is to be given to locally available food and the recipes prepared out of it should be to the liking of the local community.

Supplementary nutrition is given on all days except Sundays and holidays, *i.e.*, about 300 days in an year. The average cost of food has been estimated at 25 paise per beneficiary per day. However, in the case of severely malnourished children, it is to be provided at the rate of 60 paise per child per day. The supplementary nutrition given in this account should be such as to contain about 300 calories and 10-12 gms. of protein on an average.

Nutrition and Health Education

Nutrition and health education is to be given to all women in the age group 15-44 years. Priority is, however, to be given to pregnant and nursing mothers and to women in the younger group, *i.e.*, 15-35 years. The following means are

to be adopted for carrying the message of health and nutrition education :

- (i) Use of mass media and other forms of publicity;
- (ii) Special campaigns at suitable intervals;
- (iii) Home visits by anganwadi workers and ANMS;
- (iv) Specially organised short courses in the village;
- (v) Demonstration of cooking and feeding;
- (vi) Teaching in functional literacy classes under the scheme of functional literacy being implemented by the department of social welfare alongwith the ICDS scheme; and
- (vii) Utilisation of health and nutrition education programmes of the Ministry of Health, Agriculture and Irrigation, etc.

Immunisation

Immunisation is the best method of preventing diseases amongst the pre-school children. Under the ICDS, all children in the age group 0-6 are to be given complete immunisation, including booster doses, against smallpox, T.B., diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and typhoid. Immunisation against polio-myelitis is to be given to children in those areas which are polio prone. Immunisation against tetanus is to be given to all pregnant women.

Immunisation will be given by the health staff, i.e., ANM, LHV or the doctor or by special teams of the health department at the anganwadi centre. The anganwadi worker will help the health staff in this by getting the children and women at the anganwadi centre. A complete record of immunisation of all children and pregnant women will be maintained in the prescribe cards kept at anganwadi centre.

Health Check-up and Referral Services

Children and expectant mothers will be regularly checked up by the health staff. The health check up will include:

- (a) anti-natal care of expectant mothers;
- (b) post-natal care of nursing mothers and care of new born babies; and
- (c) care of children under six years of age;

Any child or woman who needs special care or treatment or hospitalisation will be referred to higher doctors or specialists or to a hospital, as the case may be.

A health card is maintained for each child recording the findings of the health functionaries after the health check up is done. In the case of pregnant women an anti-natal card is maintained for recording the findings.

Non-formal Education

Children in the age group 3-6 are given non-formal pre-school education



at the anganwadi centres. The children are not given any formal learning but proper attitudes and values and behaviour patterns, etc., are developed in them through play-way methods. The creative power and thinking of the child is allowed to be developed.

Monitoring and Evaluation

For the efficient implementation of any new scheme it is necessary that it is continuously monitored. This aspect has been specially taken care of in the ICDS scheme. Detailed monthly progress reports are sent by every project officer to the social welfare department at the Centre regarding the progress made in each project. These reports are examined thoroughly in the Union department of social welfare and deficiencies or bottlenecks, if any, are pointed out regularly to the respective State/U.T. with suitable suggestions. These corrective measures have proved very useful.

For the monitoring of health and nutrition aspects of the schemes, each project has been attached to a nearby medical college or medical institution. These institutions carry out two monthly surveys of the project and submit their report along with their recommendations to the State/U.T. Follow-up action on this is taken by the State/U.T. Governments, but closely watched by these medical institutions. These institutions also carry out base line surveys and six monthly report surveys to know the progress made by the scheme. All these medical institutions are working under the overall supervision of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi.

Evaluation of the scheme has been taken in hand by the Planning Commission.

Budget

ICDS is a Centrally sponsored scheme being implemented by the department of social welfare. The total expenditure on the scheme is being met by the Central Government except for expenditure on the nutrition component which is to be met by the State/U.T. Governments from their own funds.

UNICEF has come in a big way to assist the ICDS scheme. They are supplying jeeps, refrigerators, weighing scales, paper for health and nutrition cards, typewriters, mopeds, etc., and by meeting the cost of training the various functionaries.

Training

A great emphasis has been placed on training of the various functionaries under the scheme. Detailed syllabii have been prepared by expert committees for training the functionaries.

Anganwadi workers are given four months' training at either gram sevika training centres of the State Governments or at the bal sevika training institutes run by Indian Council for Child Welfare, or other institutions run by voluntary organisations.

Training courses for supervisors (mukhyasevikas) are of three months duration. Generally they are being trained at family and child welfare training centres or at Lucknow.

Training courses for child development project officers are of two months duration. These have been so far arranged at the family and child welfare training centre, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi (now a part of National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi) and at the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi.

Orientation courses in ICDS for the various health functionaries are being organised by the respective medical institutions attached to the ICDS projects under the overall supervision of All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi.

Apart from the training/orientation courses, every year a number of workshops of various levels of ICDS functionaries are organised at various centres in India. These are generally organised by the Union department of social welfare in collaboration with National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi. These workshops are the forums for reviewing the progress made by the various ICDS projects, the difficulties faced by them, and by discussing them, for finding solutions. These have been found to be very useful in taking the programme ahead at a greater pace.

Coordination

ICDS is an intersectoral programme and, therefore, proper coordination among the various departments involved in the implementation of the scheme at each level is necessary. For this purpose, coordination committees have been formed at various levels, viz., village, block, district, State and at the Centre. At the Centre this work is being performed by the National Children's Board.

Various workshops organised from time to time, about which a mention has been made earlier, also help indirectly in achieving the coordination as the officials of the various departments participatory in them.

The progress of the ICDS scheme so far has been very encouraging. The scheme has also been welcomed by rural/tribal masses and its impact on the health and nutrition status of children and women has been found to be significant. It can be said that the ICDS scheme has a bright future and holds many good things for the children and women who come from the poor and backward sections of our society.

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The Tripura Balwadi Programme : An Integrated Approach to Child Welfare and Community Education

Roma Standefer Murty*

THE MOST important welfare programme organised by the Tripura Government for the children of the State is its balwadi programme. The first balwadis opened in the late fifties. Although the early balwadis were little more than nursery schools for pre-school children, after the child demonstration project in 1962, the balwadi became an important institution for communitywide education when its programmes were broadened to cover health, nutrition, child care and adult literacy. From this point on, the programme was carefully planned to promote not only child welfare but community education as well. It grew slowly but steadily through the next ten years under the guidance of a small group of well-trained and dedicated officials, many of whom had previously been involved in the community development programme.

The main period of growth was between 1962 and 1972 when an average of 30-40 balwadis were opened a year. Although a number of these were in urban centres or large towns, the majority were placed in small villages. Many were opened in backward and tribal areas where those who were among the most deprived would have access to the services they provided.

The basic balwadi institution was usually a bamboo or mud building with thatch roof constructed by the villagers themselves to specifications established by the education department. It would be run by a social education worker (SEW) or gram sevika, and would offer pre-school classes for children in the age group 3-6 in the morning and classes in functional literacy for adults in the afternoons. As the gram sevika was a 'multipurpose village level worker' she was also expected to give classes in nutrition and child care to the mothers and to organise *Mahila samitis* for the village women. Even at its most elementary level the balwadi was an institution for community education as well as the education of pre-school children, even though the former programmes may or may not have been well-developed depending on the abilities and energy of the SEW.

In the period 1962-1972 a number of balwadis were developed into what

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were termed 'full-fledged' balwadis by social education officials. These were model balwadis offering enhanced programmes and services. These would include, in addition to the basic balwadi programme, a nutrition programme with a free meal for each child; kitchen gardens, orchards, and sometimes even paddy fields developed on khas land or land donated to the balwadi by the villagers themselves and which were maintained by voluntary labour; an immunisation programme for the children; formal classes in health and nutrition; pre-natal and post-natal classes in child care; a *Mahila samiti*; and youth clubs. The balwadi building itself would be of better quality, and was sometimes even a pucca building. At the very least it would have a roof of CGI sheeting. It would probably be well-furnished inside, with tables, racks, almirahs and chairs. It would also have many items of selected Montessori apparatus for the teaching of language and mathematics. A number of sewing machines for classes in tailoring might also be found.

Most important of all, however, the balwadi would be a true community institution, one that had been built up with the cooperation and help of the villagers themselves, often on land which had been donated by them. It was marked by a community commitment to, and involvement in, the programmes carried out by the balwadi. This community involvement has been remarked upon by many specialists in child welfare visiting the State who comment that they have not seen such a high degree of community participation in a balwadi programme elsewhere.

The programmes that had been established prior to 1972 continued for the most part in this period, but expansion of the full-fledged programme stopped. Over 200 new basic balwadis were opened however.

THE BALWADI PROGRAMME : 1972-1978

A new All-India programme, to be carried out in selected blocks in each State (often the most backward), the integrated child development scheme (ICDS), opened in Tripura in 1975 and eventually led to the addition of another 150 balwadis to the total already established in the State. Although a Central programme, it was implemented by the State Government through the social education section. Two new nutrition programmes also made their appearance in this period, the applied nutrition programme (a UNICEF programme) and the special nutrition programme which was implemented primarily in ICDS and other balwadis.

The ICDS programme has been launched in two blocks so far. The first was Chawmanu where 100 balwadis were opened. The second was Dumbarnagar, where there are now 50 balwadis. This is a tribal area, one of the most remote and backward parts of Tripura.



The ICDS was similar in many ways to the full-fledged Tripura balwadi programme. It included:

1. balwadi;
2. health programmes, immunisation of children, child-care and post-natal classes;
3. women's adult education, functional literacy and craft training; and
4. special nutrition programme and classes in nutrition.

There are a few respects in which the ICDS programme differs from the full-fledged balwadi programme, however. The ICDS balwadis are run by anganwadi workers who are paid an honorarium of Rs. 125-175 per month, depending on whether or not they are matriculates. Originally it was intended to recruit girls from the villages in which the balwadi would be placed, hence the lower level of payment. This did not prove possible in most cases and so the girls have to manage on very little, a fact which has created hardship for many of them. Most have been able to supplement their honorarium by giving classes in adult literacy. From these they can make another Rs. 50 per month.

By and large the ICDS programme is better supervised than the Tripura balwadi programme, with one supervisor to every 20 balwadis, a far more satisfactory arrangement than one supervisor for 50 to 100.

Programme Objectives

The balwadi was still considered to be an important multipurpose educational institution in this period, but the stress on its importance as a community institution had diminished. In those areas where a community institution in the form of a full-fledged balwadi had been built up, the community involvement and pride in the balwadi continued. There were still many dedicated workers in the field and their work in the full-fledged balwadis continued even though the quality of guidance and direction they received from above was not of the same calibre as that of the former period. This was partly due to the fact of many changes in senior personnel in the education department and partly due to changes in the social climate and atmosphere.

The full-fledged balwadi programme began when enthusiasm for national and community development was still very high. After independence the strong impulse towards and enthusiasm for nation building had reached all corners of the country. Even the poorest of villagers might feel a certain pride in making his small contribution to this great national effort — although it might be only as little as a few days' labour spent in construction of a balwadi. Among the villagers who were better off, it became a rather prestigious thing to contribute land for the balwadi, its orchards or kitchen garden. If family sentiment could be expressed through the naming of a balwadi in memory of a beloved mother or father, so much the better.



By the seventies, however, the willingness on the part of villagers to donate land to public institutions had almost disappeared. During the sixties and seventies the emphasis on the community doing things for itself had also changed. It gradually came to be the case that government did more and more and the community less and less. The desire on the part of the villagers to be self-reliant was no longer there. The idea that began to develop was: 'why should we do it when the government can?' The next idea that developed was: 'why should we do it when the government will?' The fact that the government came to do more and more took away the urge in people to do it for themselves.

This attitude gradually began to affect educational institutions. Prior to independence there were very few government schools. There was usually no more than one per district, and that at the district headquarters itself. Most of the other schools were private. Gradually, however, the government began taking over responsibility for education with a tremendous increase in the number of government-run, government-financed, primary and secondary schools.

Community development itself was based in the beginning on the idea that in community projects (the building of a road, school, or irrigation channel, for example), the government would give 50 per cent and the villagers 50 per cent. With the dwindling of the community development programme, this approach gradually disappeared. It became more and more difficult to get contributions from the people. In Tripura, for example, some school teachers were given targets—so many schools to be raised with public contributions. In constructing these 50 per cent of the cost would come from the government and 50 per cent from the villagers. It might have been possible for the teacher to raise two schools in this way, but not ten. Gradually, in self-defence, they adopted a technique of fabrication in order to meet their targets. They would double the estimate of cost for the school building, get half from the government, build it with that amount, and say the other half of the estimate had come as contributions from the villagers (who, of course, had not given anything at all). Gradually, however, it came to be realised that the government had to assume most of the responsibility for these projects.

In this context, it became extremely difficult to establish new full-fledged balwadis based on community donations, participation and involvement. Instead, the new balwadis were closer to what the original balwadis had been, basically educational institutions with adult literacy classes and a few welfare and health programmes attached. The changed atmosphere created many difficulties that had not been there earlier in implementing and administering the programmes.

Agricultural Programme

The decline in community involvement led to difficulties in finding volunteers to take care of the kitchen gardens, orchards and fisheries. This was



not usually a problem when feelings of community spirit were high. Then the male SEW would mobilise the youth to see that the orchards and gardens were cared for. Subsequently it became far more difficult to do this. In some cases a gardener was hired to look after the agricultural programme and given a hut in the orchard itself in order to keep an eye on it and prevent pilferage of the fruits and other garden produce. In some areas the gardens and orchards were simply not maintained. In others a male social education organiser (SEO) may have had to spend his time in taking care of them. Senior officials in the department began to question the value of having a male SEO or even an SEW spend his time in maintaining gardens when he had been hired to do educational work. In cases where the gardener's salary had to be paid, it was felt that the produce from the garden should at least cover the cost of his salary. The whole point of the programme, however, was not to sell the produce, but to provide food for the children's meal programme. The cost of this programme went up considerably when a gardener had to be hired.

Nutrition Programme

The special nutrition programme was to be implemented by the tribal welfare department. It was a nutrition programme for the feeding of children between 3 and 6 and expectant mothers. It could be started anywhere where there was a need for it. Being a difficult programme to supervise it was put in the balwadis because these were convenient places for the children to collect.

There were many difficulties in implementing the programme. A great deal of effort was required to get food to the balwadi centres and some of the officers responsible were disinclined to do the work that was necessary. Special officers may be required in the long run to implement this programme as it is a heavy responsibility. There were many other problems as well. The supplies, when they did get to the balwadi, might have been rather late, and there might have been considerable pilferage. On other occasions the cook might not turn up at the balwadi. Still, where it did work well, the programme fulfilled an important role for those who most needed supplementary nutrition.

Interestingly, however, the special nutrition programme was rejected by the villagers in the north district who preferred to continue giving voluntary contributions of food themselves. This stemmed partly from the fact that the special nutrition programme covered not only the children who regularly attended the balwadi but also many others who only came to the balwadi for the meal. As this disrupted the regular balwadi programme, the villagers said they preferred to continue their own voluntary meal programme for the children attending the balwadi.

Health Programme

There were many difficulties in implementing the health programme

particularly in ICDS blocks, due to the shortage of qualified workers. There are supposed to be 5 ANMs (auxilliary nurse-cum-midwife) and 2 health visitors but these positions were not filled due to the shortage of suitable health personnel.

Equipment

Tripura's reliance on equipment imported from other parts of India ended during this period when the Tripura Handloom and Handicraft Development Corporation (HHDC) began supplying locally made Montessori apparatus obtained from a private contractor. A set of Montessori apparatus for language and mathematics normally selling for Rs. 1600 was sold to Social Education for Rs. 1400 by the Corporation. The quality was considerably inferior to that of the original supplier and the element of profit extremely high. The major saving was in shipping costs from Hyderabad and the certainty of receiving the apparatus ordered. Some earlier shipments from Hyderabad had been badly pilfered en route.

It is possible, however, to make locally a wide variety of good quality, sturdy toys and educational apparatus suitable for balwadis at a very reasonable cost. This was demonstrated in a prototype project carried out at the Industries Department Design Centre in Agartala recently. Just to give one example, take the Montessori number rods. A set of number rods purchased from the official supplier cost Rs. 110. A set supplied by the Tripura HHDC cost Rs. 88. In the toys prototype project a similar number rod was made for between Rs. 15-20 (for raw materials and labour). Adding a reasonable amount for profit and overhead, it should still cost no more than Rs. 30.

But why is it necessary to make wooden number rods? Bamboo is abundantly available locally. A very good set of bamboo number rods which would be equally useful in teaching a child the basic concepts of length, number and measurements in centimetres, can be made for only Rs. 2-3. They might not last as long as a set of wooden number rods, but they could be replaced every two years for a long time and still be cheaper (and just as effective) than the more costly wooden ones, whether their price is Rs. 110, Rs. 88, or Rs. 30.

The Vikaswadi Experiment in Maharashtra also demonstrated that many varieties of low-cost educational equipment could be made to replace the more expensive Montessori apparatus but still teach the same concepts. In regard to such innovations those associated with the Vikaswadi Experiment in Kosbad are miles ahead of those working in the Tripura balwadi programme. Considerable research was carried out at Kosbad to find out how low-cost adaptations of Montessori apparatus could be made that would still teach the same concepts (Naik, 1978, pp. 8-10). This equipment was produced for and used in the Kosbad balwadis. The toys prototype project proved that many similar types of low-cost educational equipment could be made in Tripura, but unfortunately the results of this research have not been



able to reach the balwadis. No entrepreneurs enterprising enough to take up the supply of these items on a large scale at reasonable prices have come forward and the State Government has shown a disinclination to take up any project to see that they are produced.

Problems have been encountered in obtaining other teaching materials. A list of the minimum teaching materials required for the balwadis and adult literacy programme has been prepared. It includes slates, chalk, alphabet charts and blackboards. The Social Education Department would like to provide slates for all the children, 30-35 at least for each balwadi, but these cannot always be procured. They are made locally, but it is difficult to obtain slates of good quality. There is not always the sense of responsibility on the part of those making them to do the work well when they are given a large government order.

Another problem arising in connection with equipment has been the fact that the Montessori apparatus purchased in earlier years has not been maintained. Visiting many balwadis one will see sandpaper letters in which most of the sandpaper has worn away, number rods on which most of the paint has disappeared, spindle boxes with many of the counting spindles missing, and moveable alphabet sets that may have lost more than half of their letters. It is only to be expected that after 10-15 years there would be some deterioration in equipment and that some provision for maintenance or replacement would be required. It would certainly be possible to make repairs locally but no one seems inclined to go to the botheration of seeing that these elementary repairs are carried out.

Ideals

The sense of dedication that was characteristic of the earlier officers and workers in social education became much more difficult to find in those who were recruited for the programme in the seventies. A position as a social education worker came to be regarded as a job, just like any other job, and not as one requiring a high degree of dedication and commitment. The idea had begun to spread (and it was by no means confined to social education workers, it had become endemic in many other parts of the State Government), that one could collect his salary without having to do very much for it. A 'culture of lethargy' came to characterise many government departments and institutions and this affected social education workers as much as the others. A few of the senior officials tried to maintain the standard but they found themselves swimming against the tide without being strong enough or in numbers sufficiently large enough to overcome it.

Another serious problem stemmed from the fact that by the seventies many of those who had been successful and effective field level supervisors had been promoted to desk positions in the Education Directorate in Agartala, appointed as BDOs (Block Development Officers), transferred, or absorbed into higher levels of other State Government departments. These were the

officers who had been trained in community development and who had absorbed and assimilated its approach and ideals. Those replacing them had not had such a direct exposure to this approach and in many cases were not of the same calibre as the earlier officers and supervisors had been. To be fair to the new officers, however, they were not working at a time when the ideals of personal service and dedication to a cause like nation-building and community development were in the air as they had been earlier. All of these factors obviously had an effect on the quality and intensity of the programme.

Another factor that may have affected the ideals of those running the programme was the enormous growth in its size. Something that works on a pilot scale because of the efforts of a few dedicated and committed officers and workers cannot always be expanded indefinitely without some diluting of the original ideals. This was particularly true with the balwadi programme, based as it was on an intensely personal approach at all levels. In this context the fact that it did prove possible to create as many as 140 full-fledged balwadis was, in itself, a rather remarkable accomplishment. The lack of adequate supervisory personnel made it difficult to sustain the programme let alone increase it. Obviously it is not possible for a social education organiser with anywhere between 50-100 balwadis to supervise to give attention, inspiration and proper guidance to all.

Gradually, in the period between 1972-78, an institution began to evolve that was probably more in tune with changed times. The balwadi was still an important institution for the education of pre-school children and many adults in the community who wanted to take part in literacy programmes and other classes of practical value. It was still the point of articulation for a variety of health, nutrition and welfare services. Its facilities were certainly still used by the community and its leaders might show the balwadi and its gardens to VIP visitors with great pride, saying 'We built it all ourselves', but the fact still remained that it had shifted from being a community institution to being yet another bureaucratic, government-run and government-maintained institution.

This is a problem for any pilot project started by enthusiastic workers and which is enlarged on a much broader scale later. The problems of expansion become even more pronounced when the social climate for these activities is not a supportive one. Such was the condition during the seventies. One can only agree with Naik's conclusion that projects like a balwadi programme ultimately have "to be conducted and promoted by teachers and social workers possessing the strengths and weaknesses of ordinary people" (Naik, 1978, pp. 93-4).

There seem to be two alternate courses in such a situation. The first is to design a programme based on high ideals to be carried out by dedicated workers, try to instil these ideals into those who join the programme, give them as much physical and moral support as possible and then hope for the best. The other alternative may be more realistic in the long run.

That would be to make an assessment of what the trainees are most likely to be able to accomplish in carrying out the programme, the social atmosphere in which they will be working, the attitudes of the villagers in the areas where their programme will be placed, and then design a programme based on these facts which will be suitable for conditions as they exist. The Tripura balwadi programme started out following the first path. Possibly by the most recent period of its history when it has been under the direction of a CPI(M) ministry with political values which differ considerably from those of its predecessors in power, the balwadi programme has moved closer to the second alternative. The programme has changed considerably in the past year and a half since the election of the CPI(M) Government. The fact that it has not only continued but has actually been doubled, gives some indication of the fact that the new Government recognises the value of the programme and wants it to continue. It is only to be expected that there would be some changes. It is interesting to see these in the context of 1979, the International Year of the Child.

THE BALWADI PROGRAMME IN 1979

As an indication of its concern for the children of the State, the CPI(M) Government drew up a 12-point programme to commemorate the IYC. Many of these are welfare measures for children, including the opening of destitute children's homes in three districts and special wards for children in two district hospitals.

The most important of the welfare programmes for this year, however, (and certainly at Rs. 14 lakhs the most expensive), is the opening of 600 new balwadis. A number of related welfare programmes for children will be implemented in the balwadis this year. Immunisation of all balwadi children will be carried out by the health directorate. This will include giving the triple antigen vaccination as well as vaccinations for smallpox, cholera, and polio.

There will also be a nutrition programme in the new balwadis opened this year. All of the balwadi children will be given a meal of rice and dal.

Something new in the balwadi programme now is the involvement of the gram panchayats. Earlier the panchayats were not given much responsibility. Now they are being directly involved in programmes and schemes for their own people by being given funds and actual programmes to implement and administer. Many of these are programmes for the welfare of children.

One of the ways in which the gram panchayats have become involved in the balwadi programme is that of having the responsibility for selecting the locations for the new balwadis. Previously the centres where they would be established were selected by social education officers on the basis of requests made by villagers who wanted a balwadi in their area. Now each panchayat is given a certain quota and they select the villages where the balwadis are to be located.



As part of the CPI(M) Government's programme to decentralise administration, each social education district supervisor has been given sanctioning power of up to Rs. 2,000, but this sanctioning has to be done in consultation with the gram panchayats.

Selection of the school mother or *gram lakshmi*, who assists the balwadi worker, is done by the panchayats now. She is selected from the village in which the balwadi is placed.

The panchayats may also help to supervise the balwadi workers. According to the guidelines established by the education department, each SEW has two duties, conducting the children's programme in the morning and the women's programme in the afternoon. In practice, however, there have been many SEWs who did nothing for the rest of the day once the balwadi programme was finished. One education official stated:

With the coming of panchayat leadership this trend may be reversed. They are taking an interest in what is happening in the balwadis, in what the lower level government officials are doing. This could lead to a revival of the programmes that should exist over and above the normal programme.

Another way in which the panchayats may become involved in the balwadi programme in the future is to have responsibility for constructing and maintaining the balwadi building. There is now a feeling on the part of some members of the government that it may be too much of a burden on some of the poorer villagers to provide the building themselves, and that the government should be responsible for all expenses connected with its construction. These could be administered by the panchayats. Last year, for example, the panchayats were given funds for the maintenance and construction of primary schools throughout the State. Since that time there have been no problems with these buildings. Many schools were damaged and roofs blown away by the strong winds of the April Nor' westers this year, but they have all been repaired. In fact, it is hoped that it may be possible to complete all the primary school buildings in the State this year. Having been given the responsibility for building up the local schools and taking care of them, the panchayats have so far met this responsibility very well. The same pattern could be used for construction and maintenance of the balwadis with funds for this coming from the government.

Those associated with the earlier programme, however, feel that the villagers should contribute the largest part of the cost and labour in constructing the building. It is felt that only in this way will they have the feeling that the building is *theirs* and not the government's. They stress that this feeling is essential for the building up of a true community centre which is what the balwadi should be. Expecting the government to pay for everything, including construction of the building, is not such a good thing because it



fosters too much dependence on the government and breaks down the community's sense of self-reliance.

Much of that spirit, however, has gone already and a symptom of this may be seen in the fact that construction of primary schools and balwadis in some areas has become part of the new Food for Work programme (FFW) in the State. FFW labourers are also repairing balwadi buildings in areas where the villagers themselves have not become mobilised to do the work.

Organisational Structure

In March, 1979, the organisational structure of the Social Education Section changed. Partly due to the growth in size of the programme, the Section was upgraded to that of a full 'wing' of the Education Directorate, and a Director of Social Education appointed. Previously the highest position in Social Education was that of Joint Director.

DIFFICULTIES IN ADMINISTERING THE PROGRAMME

The opening of 600 new balwadis in a single year has presented many of its own problems. Difficulties have been encountered in recruiting suitable staff for the balwadis, giving them adequate training, obtaining and constructing balwadi buildings, finding suitable accommodation in the villages for the balwadi workers, equipping the balwadis, and getting food and other supplies to the workers. The distances some of the girls have to go on foot to reach balwadis which have opened in the more remote and backward areas, where there may not even be roads, have also caused problems.

Recruitment

Originally it was thought that the balwadi worker would be selected locally, that a girl could be recruited from each village where the panchayat had decided to place a balwadi. As in the ICDS scheme, however, it was not possible to get a qualified girl from each village. The strategy finally adopted by the Education Minister for recruitment was to invite applications from girls who were matriculates, then a girl from the closest village to the balwadi was selected for appointment. That way, the girl would still be fairly close to her own home and family. Because of the difficulty of getting matriculates in all cases, particularly among the tribal girls, the requirement that the balwadi worker be a matriculate was relaxed.

A major criterion for selection was to give emphasis to girls who came from poor families. In addition, the government has not selected anyone with a close relative already in government service. Generally, they have tried to place Bengali girls in Bengali areas and tribal girls in tribal areas, matching the language of the balwadi worker with that of the village.

Training

It has not been possible to give the three months' training course to the new balwadi workers. There are no funds to give them long training and no institution large enough to accommodate them in any case, according to social education officials. They are, instead, being given orientation through a series of group meetings in 5-6 balwadis with the balwadi workers and school mothers. Their training has been described in this way:

They are assembled in one place from 7 a.m. to noon. We have some discussions. We discuss with them their duties and what they are supposed to do. What a balwadi is, and how it is different from a primary school. Then they are taken to a local balwadi so they can watch how it is functioning. This we are doing in the case of adult literacy teachers too. We can't give them good training, but we are discussing with them the objectives of the programme, how to use the materials and so on.

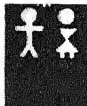
It however remains to be seen whether this type of limited orientation programme will adequately prepare the new workers for the important tasks they are required to do. There has been much criticism of the new balwadi programme for this reason.

Without training arrangements for so many people it will lead to chaos. They have not defined anything, what they will do, nobody knows. Previously a centre wasn't opened unless a trained teacher could be sent there. Nobody knows what these new 600 are doing. There is no administrative structure. They are only thinking about developing it now. Where is the equipment? Where is the accommodation? The balwadis were opened without thinking of any of these problems.

Some who were associated with the earlier balwadi programme feel that a much better use of the Rs. 14 lakhs being spent on the programme would have been to put more into training and equipping the balwadis. Even if there were no large training centres, the spirit of innovation that marked the early days of the balwadi programme, when a training course could be conducted in a tent placed in a paddy field in the period between harvests, could be invoked again to find some way to accommodate large groups of trainees. There are certainly enough social education organisers and social education workers in the State with qualifications to teach the many new recruits satisfactorily.

Balwadi workers in the earlier programme had to know something about health, nutrition and child care as well as pre-school education, and had to communicate these to the adults in the community. Responsibilities of this type are difficult to carry out without proper and careful training.

The anganwadi workers for the ICDS blocks are still being given four



months' training at the centre in Kakraban, however. Fifty girls are receiving training here. Concurrently the Tripura council for child welfare is giving its 11 month course at the gram sevika training centre in Arundhatinagar, Agartala. Normally fifty girls are also trained in this course.

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON THE PROGRAMME

Although the Tripura balwadi programme has seen many changes during the four different periods of its twenty-year history, there can be no doubt about its value whether one is considering this from the point of view of full-fledged balwadis or basic balwadis only. The balwadi, in whatever form it appeared in Tripura, was, and continues to be, an important institution for child and community education. It is an interesting thought in this, the International Year of the Child, that the child himself could provide the entry point to such an important collection of community services. Particularly during the period of the full-fledged balwadi, adoption of a balwadi programme proved to be an effective means of building up community spirit, a community centre, and a place to offer services to the community. Once the balwadi programme began and a balwadi centre was established, those organising it could keep adding programmes to the original institution, which is what they did. But first of all they started with the child.

The opening of balwadis has been one of the most successful government programmes ever undertaken in the State if one can judge success by the degree of expansion and the many requests made by other villagers that the government open balwadis for their children also.

Unlike the situation reported by Naik at Kosbad Hill (Naik, 1978, p. 49 and 95), it has generally not been difficult to persuade Tripura parents to send their children to the balwadi nor has it been difficult to persuade the children to go—unless of course they had an unpopular teacher. From the beginning it appears that the villagers were able to appreciate the value of the balwadi. In fact, after the first few demonstration balwadis, it was the government policy to open balwadis only where the villagers themselves had requested that one be opened. The programme was always carefully explained to them so that they would have a full understanding of what the balwadi could do for them and their children.

It seems to be the case that from the time of the appearance of the earliest balwadis their educational value was considered by the villagers themselves to be of considerable importance. One should never underestimate the value to a busy and harassed mother of the opportunity of being able to send a pre-school child to a place where he would be looked after safely for a few hours so that she could get on with her household tasks without distraction. But the balwadi was still not regarded as just a baby-sitting or baby-minding institution. At a very early stage in the programme it was the parents themselves who requested that the educational offerings of the balwadi be upgraded



so that their children would have some exposure to writing, reading, and mathematics.

It has been a widespread phenomenon throughout post-independence India that people from all levels of society have come to appreciate the value and importance of education. Earlier, an illiterate tribal agriculturalist might have been content to see his children follow in his footsteps with little thought or concern about their receiving any education. In the past twenty to twenty-five years, however, such attitudes have changed considerably and even tribals living in backward areas of remote States like Tripura see the value of exposing their children to educational opportunities as soon as possible. They may still drop out of school before completing class 5, but they will at least go for those few years and pick up the rudiments of an education. Hopefully, the next generation will go even farther. It is significant to note in this context that the Tripura Education Department has definite evidence of the fact that in the Kamalpur demonstration project area, which has always had the best balwadi programme, the school dropout rate is considerably lower than in the other sub-divisions, a fact which they directly attribute to participation of children in the balwadi programme.

From the point of view of government officials who are responsible for administering the programme, its main educational value is the fact that it helps to develop the school-going habit in young children, thereby giving a form and structure to their daily programme at a young and impressionable age. This has been observed to make the transition to full-time attendance at a primary school considerably easier for them.

Another important value of the balwadi programme as perceived by officials in the department is the improvement that it can make in the self-image of a child who comes from a backward, illiterate family. When admitted to primary school he sees that he is different from the children of educated parents who 'have already prepared their children so they have an edge over the children coming from homes with illiterate parents.'

According to the Tripura Education Secretary:

This can affect the whole psychology of the child. He is behind the children who come from educated homes, he knows it and feels it, even in the primary school level. He develops a self-definition that he is more ignorant than they are and this feeling of inferiority may never leave him. Going to the balwadi before entering primary school, he has a chance to pick up those things which the children from better homes learn from their own families.

If the children are not educated then their people will stay backward. Even illiterates understand that these days and they are sending their children to the balwadi and primary schools.



The main value of the Tripura balwadi programme, therefore, has been that of helping to raise the general educational level of the people of the State. In particular, it has undoubtedly helped to improve the overall educational level of the poorest and the most backward children.

Another value of the balwadi is that of teaching children at the time when they are most capable of learning. Child psychologists seem to be almost unanimous in their agreement that the ages between 3-6 are the ones in which children are the most receptive to educational opportunities. This is the age when they are most full of curiosity and capable of acquiring quite astonishing amounts of knowledge, including additional languages, the ability to read and write, voluminous vocabularies and elements of mathematics up to and including multiplication and division. The problem with most conventional systems of education is the fact that they start the education of children after the most sensitive period for learning has passed. From that point on it is an uphill task trying to educate them. As proof of this fact one has only to compare the case in which a three-year old child can pick up as many as three languages with equal fluency in all, with the situation of a 10-year old child who is trying to acquire a second language. Even developed western countries have created serious problems in their educational systems by not responding to this basic situation of tremendous sensitivity to learning in the 3-6 age group. Most western primary schools do not accept children until they are 5 or 6 and only a fortunate few are able to go to a nursery school which can give them an adequate introduction to the world of learning. Those who can attend Montessori schools are the most fortunate of all, but unhappily, such schools tend to be available only to the urban elite in a few countries in the world.

One American child psychologist has even gone so far as to suggest that if a parent had to make a choice between borrowing money to send his child to a good nursery school when he is four or to go to a good college when he is 18, there is no question in his mind as to what the choice should be; a good nursery school (Dobson, 1970, p. 201).

From this point of view, Indian children who have an opportunity to attend balwadis with a well-designed and well-executed programme may be better off than many children in the more affluent west. In this respect India also seems to be well ahead of many other developing countries. In a survey of non-formal education for rural children and youth carried out for UNICEF, Coombs, Prosser and Ahmed state:

we have noted few organised community efforts to create opportunities for the systematic social development and growth of pre-school children (1973, p. 57).

In fact they conclude that pre-school age children are one of the 'most seriously neglected groups' insofar as receiving nonformal education is

concerned (1973, p. 57).

By developing balwadi programmes which are often specifically designed for the children in rural and backward areas, India has taken very concrete and positive steps towards a goal which has been considered to be of great importance since independence, that of social justice. Given the conditions of great social inequality which exist in the country, children in rural areas still have a long way to go before they can catch up with their more sophisticated urban counterparts, but, at least, with the assistance of rural balwadi programmes in backward States like Tripura, they have been able to take the first steps towards achieving educational equality. With the right kind of guidance, continued allocation of resources, and firm direction, the next generation may come even closer to that goal.

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Management of Institutions for Children : A Delhi Study

K.B. Shukla

THE UNION Territory of Delhi with a high density of population of 2,738 persons per sq. km. and a continuous influx of people in the capital from all corners of the country in search of employment has led to a sharp population growth during the past few decades. Delhi's population which was 2.63 million in 1961 rose to 4.06 million in 1971. Of this, urban segment accounted for almost 90 per cent.* Children were 1.57 million and formed 38.6 per cent of the total.

Thus, child care, juvenile delinquency, girls of tender age exposed to moral danger, broken families, accute congestion (with consequent lack of avenues of constructive recreation) and children living in slums are all problems that have to be viewed against the background of an accelerated pace of urbanisation coupled with a rapid rise in population. This has, in turn, necessitated the growth of a comprehensive and well-knit welfare infrastructure.

Social services in Delhi were in an embryo stage at the commencement of the First Plan, with only three Government managed institutions :

- (i) A children's home established in 1938, under the Bombay Children's Act as extended to Delhi;
- (ii) Lady Noyce school for the deaf and dumb; and
- (iii) Government rescue home for women and girls rescued from brothels.

Besides, six orphanages for children and two schools for the blind were also functioning.

During the successive five-year plan periods, social services for children in Delhi have considerably developed and the facility for case work treatment, medi-care, basic education and vocational training has been introduced. Sustained efforts have also been made to strengthen and expand institutional and non-institutional services to cater to the requirements of special categories of children such as those belonging to denotified tribes and healthy children of leprosy persons. The programmes and services for child welfare have

*SOURCE : Census of India, 1971.



been accorded the highest priority, as a vital component of the planned development of social services, which are understood to mean "an organised attempt that aims at helping towards a mutual adjustment of individuals and their social environments."¹

SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN DELHI

Delhi has, at present, 14 institutions for the care, education, training and rehabilitation of the destitutes and neglected children as also juvenile delinquents with an annual coverage of about 2,100 children. As against this, the foster home care services cover only about 500 children. Thus, in the absence of well-developed non-institutional child care services, as in the developed societies, institutionalisation still remains the main instrument for child care.

Broadly, the existing institutional services in Delhi are classified as statutory and non-statutory. These can be further categorised as correctional and non-correctional. Moreover, while the directorate of social welfare is directly responsible for managing the institutions under its control, its regulatory responsibilities extend to institutions run by voluntary organisation agencies, through the provisions of the Licensing of Institutions Act.

The statutory institutions are governed by the provisions of the Children Act 1960, enforced in 1962. In pursuance of the provisions contained in Delhi Children Rules, 1961, the Delhi Children (Management, Functions and Responsibilities of Special Schools, Children's Homes and Observation Homes) Rules, 1964 have been framed. These rules provide detailed guidelines for the principal functionaries, prescribe an exhaustive list of their duties and responsibilities and touch upon varied aspects of critical significance. Its comprehensive provisions for the custody, treatment, education and training of the inmates are applicable to non-government children's homes, special schools and observation homes certified or recognised under the Children Act, 1960.

Viewed against this background, the administration and management of institutions for children deserve detailed consideration in their various facets. They are of operational relevance to all those concerned with social services.

Even with a comparatively more diversified and developed network of institutional services for the welfare of children, certain operational aspects of institutional management need to be emphasised to bring about a certain degree of qualitative improvement. Some of these are: absence of suitable buildings, overcrowding; lack of job-oriented training facilities; shortage of trained personnel; paucity of funds; and inadequate attention to after-care and rehabilitation aspects. Some recent studies have also underlined the need to make our institutions more 'humane'.

¹V. Jagannadham, "Social Administration" in *Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India*, Volume II, pp. 218-225.



Some of these issues came up before the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of the Lok Sabha in 1973-74. The Committee had before it the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for 1971-72, Union Government (Civil), which was laid on the table of the House in April 1973. The PAC, while examining the paragraphs relating to the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, devoted its attention to the implementation of the various schemes and programmes in Delhi including those relating to the welfare of children.

CHILDREN'S HOMES

The Committee was informed that four categories of children were sent to these institutions:

1. Those who have been begging and who have run away from their homes;
2. Those who have no one to keep them—orphans;
3. Those who may have parents but whose parents are unable to look after them due to poverty or because they are uncontrollable; and
4. Those living in undesirable places as in brothels and known to be leading a depraved life.”²

The children's home for boys at Kingsway Camp which previously functioned under the Children's Aid Society, from 1938 to 1950, was taken over by the Delhi Administration in 1951. It is the biggest children's institution of its kind, functioning under the directorate of social welfare, Delhi Administration. The following table provides information regarding the average strength, the number of escapes, the percentage of escapes and total expenditure incurred during the period 1969-70 to 1972-73.³

DATA PERTAINING TO CHILDREN'S HOME, DELHI

<i>Year</i>	<i>Admission</i>	<i>Discharge</i>	<i>Average strength</i>	<i>No. of escapes</i>	<i>Total expenditure</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
					<i>Rs. (lakhs)</i>
1969-70	448	182	549	174	4.24
1970-71	575	494	665	192	5.76
1971-72	660	169	570	179	5.80
1972-73	582	241	578	234	8.68

From the information furnished to the Committee by the Ministry of

²Public Accounts Committee (1973-74) Fifth Lok Sabha—129th Report, p. 43(2.38).

³*Ibid.*, p. 46 (2.47).

Education and Social Welfare (Department of Social Welfare, Government of India), as also from the evidence given before it, the situation which emerged is summarised below:

- (i) On an average 500-600 children were kept in the children's home against the sanctioned capacity of 250.⁴
- (ii) The per capita expenditure in respect of some institutions for children not only showed variations but the expenditure on administrative overheads in certain cases also seemed to be fairly high. For instance, out of the total per capita expenditure of Rs. 191 in respect of a home for the mentally retarded children, administration accounted for Rs. 84 (43.08 per cent) per capita expenditure per month, and in another case the per capita expenditure on inmates per month was Rs. 107 i.e., 56.02 per cent.⁵

Viewed thus, the possibility of institutions investing a major portion of available resources on the staff component and infrastructure at the cost of beneficiary interests cannot be ruled out. To what extent cost benefit norms could be applied in this area is a question which admits of divergent answers, and the situation is yet to crystallise.

Another aspect of institution management which places a severe strain on the functionaries relates to the escape of inmates from the institutions. For instance, the number of inmates who escaped from the Children Home in Delhi and its annexes varied from 174 to 192 in each of the three years 1969-70 to 1971-72. This was attributed to shortage and unsatisfactory conditions of accommodation in the institution. It was also contended that this phenomenal escape was not the fault of the institution but was regarded as the part of the process of adjustment of a child.⁶ It was, however, conceded that the causes leading to escape could be traced to the living conditions which were not conducive and the building housing this institution was overcrowded.⁷ Simultaneously, the need for treating the children in a 'human fashion' was also underlined.

Thus, the shortage of accommodation, particularly in large metropolitan cities like Delhi, leads to overcrowding. The PAC which considered this aspect in some detail, in respect of institutions for children established and run under the Children's Act in Delhi, therefore, suggested that "as far as possible, it should be ensured that the actual strength of these homes is not much more than the sanctioned capacity, for which accommodation should be provided."⁸ Overcrowding in institutions, as in the case of overcrowded

⁴Public Accounts Committee (1973-74), Fifth Lok Sabha, 129th Report, p. 48(2.55).

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 55(2.76).

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 56(2.78).

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 59(2.87).



homes, leads to neglect of children. Very often, the atmosphere of tolerance, understanding and mutual trust which ought to prevail, is conspicuously missing.

The remedy obviously is that the optimum capacity of an institution should be fixed, having due regard to adequacy of accommodation, staff and other facilities. While this is conceded, it may not always be administratively feasible to keep inmate-population within prescribed limits, since children are admitted to these institutions through the juvenile courts/child welfare boards. It is just desirable that the variation in inmate-population should not be so sharp as to disrupt staff-inmate ratio leading to minimisation of contact, lack of rapport and an overall deterioration in the level of services which, even otherwise, falls short of the required standards.

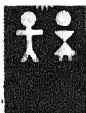
PERSONNEL

Staffing pattern of these institutions is another area which has hitherto remained largely neglected. Competent, qualified and efficient personnel are the essential pre-requisite of any organisation for the realisation of the objectives envisaged and the tasks assigned. A social worker, moreover, requires a higher degree of flexibility and adaptability to perform the complicated task of handling the child in a manner so as to facilitate the development of its potentialities. It has been emphasised that as against the impersonal routinism of the traditional administrative structures, "a concern for emphatic understanding, a comprehensiveness in approach and a personal warmth"⁹ are distinctive features of social administration.

A professionally trained social worker is better equipped, because of his knowledge and awareness of the techniques of social work, which in turn shape his approach, outlook and attitude towards the problems that have to be handled with competence, skill and commonsense. Experience has, however, been that in the absence of a well-defined staff development programme—an aspect commonly ignored or neglected in other areas of public administration—even the professionally trained personnel tend to develop a 'beaurocratic' and impersonal attitude. There is inadequate appreciation of the need and importance of in-service training of the personnel working in these institutions. Facilities for training of supervisory personnel, case-workers and other categories of staff are by and large non-existent.

Further, a well-developed institutional service presupposes development of suitably trained personnel and provision of facilities to meet the specific needs of the particular category of beneficiaries. In more specific terms, the management of institutions meant for children categorised as the destitute, the delinquent, or the homeless is bound to throw up problems different from

⁹V. Jagannadham, *op. cit.*



those established for the special groups such as the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the orthopaedically handicapped or the mentally-retarded. Perhaps, constraints of resources and staff as also other factors have hampered the growth of specialisation. Almost all categories of personnel are periodically moved, and inter-changeability and inter-transferability are an accepted norm. It is seldom realised that the impact of such change of personnel, in the final analysis, is detrimental to the interests of the children and negates the basic tenets of institutional care.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

It is envisaged that these institutions will provide comprehensive facilities for education, treatment and training of children. The terms 'treatment and training' are given a wider connotation, underlying the need of offering opportunities which would eventually facilitate the occupational adjustment of the inmate on his release from the institution. In pursuance of this objective, arrangements for imparting vocational training are invariably made, though the level and extent of these facilities show wide variation.

Broadly speaking, existing facilities for vocational training in the institutions suffer from two infirmities. Firstly, haphazard placements of trade-training without recourse to vocational aptitude tests lead to waste of training effort and, secondly, the training imparted is not job-oriented. A recent study of the impact of institutions on children other than the delinquent sponsored by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the United States and conducted by the Indian Council of Child Welfare in Maharashtra has underlined the need of a constant review and evaluation of the training programme. The report has *inter alia* recommended that training in outmoded trades be discarded and instead "small trades, which will help the child to operate independently, with a small outlay, should be taught, where possible...."¹⁰

Another important aspect, which, if neglected, renders the training effort infructuous is the desirability of 'recognition' of the training by the competent authority. Unless the course is duly 'recognised', notwithstanding the proficiency gained by the trainee in a trade, his placement prospects in the government and the organised sector will most likely be severely limited.

FINANCES

There is ample evidence to support the view that "statutory social services suffer from a perennial shortage of funds in proportion to the rising expectations about the quantity, quality and variety of services needed...." While,

¹⁰Impact of Institutions on Children : Report of A Research Project on Rehabilitation of Children other than Delinquent under the Bombay Children Act, p. 101.



the quantum of funds allocated to government managed institutions, very often, have no relevance to the inmate population, voluntary agencies seldom succeed in bridging 'the gulf between needs and resources'.¹¹ Consequently, those responsible for managing the institutions face a situation where available funds are barely adequate to maintain prescribed standards of services. Information furnished to the PAC in respect of a children's home in Delhi will help to illustrate the situation. This institution with an average number of inmates of 578 incurred expenditure to the tune of Rs. 9.60 lakhs in 1972-73. The budget provision made for the subsequent year was Rs. 5.41 lakhs only. The Committee was informed : "Whatever budget we ask for, it is cut down according to the money available. Then we are supposed to ask for it again at the time of revised estimates."¹²

The Committee was further told that "Every year when we ask for a certain amount, the initial allotment is less and then it is supplemented through the revised budget."¹³

There is little to suggest that institutions in other States would be in any happier situation.

It is seldom realised that unless the funding of these institutions is need based, precious little can possibly be done in terms of qualitative services in a planned manner. Relatively more realistic appreciation of institutional needs at the appropriate stage of budget formulation would facilitate narrowing the wide gap between expectations and achievements.

SOCIAL AUDIT

Another area which has hitherto been largely ignored, or accorded low priority, relates to evaluation of programmes with special reference to implementational issues. The application of performance audit to determine the efficacy of institutional services is perhaps nowhere so urgently needed as in this area of social administration. Financial audit, in terms of utilisation of funds, should give place to client-satisfaction as the more valid measure of assessment. In other words, 'social audit' instead of 'financial audit' is more relevant to administration of social services. Correctives should be sought and found for stagnation, apathy, cussedness and communication gap, generating an acute sense of alienation in the beneficiary group, and also for the growing insensitivity among the personnel—and these are commonly regarded as the negative features of institutionalisation. With the adoption of social audit one of the unsolicited gains would be a substantial reduction in per capita expenditure.

¹¹V. Jagannadham, *op. cit.*

¹²Public Accounts Committee, 5th Lok Sabha, 129th Report, p. 50(2.62).

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 50(2.63).

Organised voluntary effort has always occupied a place of primacy in the sphere of social welfare. Successive five-year plans have recognised the pivotal position of voluntary agencies. The establishment of the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953 by the Government of India was designed to strengthen the voluntary sector. Likewise, the Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Cooperation set up in 1961 was intended to strengthen and promote voluntary action and develop community participation. It was also envisaged that the Institute will act as a liaison between the Government and voluntary agencies.

Over a period of years, voluntary agencies have diversified and expanded their activities, covering almost every area of social work. Numerous organisations, spread over the country, are today engaged in the task of alleviating human misery in all shapes and forms, striving to transform the texture of society through dedicated work. Quite a few of these such as the Children Aid Society have done commendable work in managing a network of institutional/non-institutional services in Bombay. Likewise, in Delhi, voluntary organisations such as Mobile Creches, SOS Children's Village, Bal Sahyog, Blind Relief Association, etc., have made steady attempts to reach those who somehow remain largely untouched.

However, supplemental efforts of voluntary agencies, though substantial, fail to have the desired impact for want of adequate funds, shortage of trained manpower, lack of scientific identification of problems requiring social action, inadequately or inefficiently organised programmes, and negligible facilities for in-service training of the employees. Lack of coordination amongst the voluntary agencies, horizontal as well as vertical, leads to duplication of efforts. Dissensions, unhealthy jealousies and competitiveness are some other features which tend to aggravate the malaise afflicting voluntary agencies/organisations in a large measure. Their dependence on government for funds is another debilitating factor.

Simplification of the procedure for the release of grant-in-aid to voluntary agencies, its timely release without tears, rationalisation of the criteria for assessment of the requirement of funds, government assistance in providing training facilities, professional consultancy, programme-planning, etc.; mobilisation of public support for community participation; an institutional mechanism to facilitate an appreciative awareness of their emerging needs; exchange of information and ideas; and creation of a central registry and clearing house for all social welfare agencies are, in brief, some of the directions for change.

While the operational aspects of the government managed institutional services have frequently been criticised on grounds of bureaucratic methods of work, unimaginative rule-oriented approach, and singular lack of empathy, the very concept of institutionalisation has begun to be questioned during the past two decades or so. The efficacy of institutional services as an instrument of education, treatment and rehabilitation of the child is seriously doubted.



It is being increasingly recognised that institutional services, as at present, are hardly in a position to ensure in adequate measure the psycho-social development of the children placed in their care.

It is in this context that a new pattern of living for children in need of care, adopted by the SOS children's village movement in India, seems to be of significance. In a SOS children's village at Bawana in Delhi, orphan children, 8-10 in number and of different age groups are kept in a cottage under the affectionate care of a house mother and in a home-like environment.

Indeed, developments such as the SOS children's village movement offer an entirely new perspective for child care. Conceptually, it repudiates the basic assumptions on which institutionalisation as a system is founded and reared. Operationally, it has effectively demonstrated its intrinsic superiority over the conventional pattern.

If a nation's children are regarded as its 'supremely important asset' and if the general theme of 'reaching the deprived child' adopted for the International Year of the Child is to have any content, specific and practical action, linked with achievable goals, must be designed and developed and an optimal utilisation of available resources ensured.

Options are there, they need to be further explored. Until these options are discovered and they gain acceptance, implementational aspects of child care, in relation to management and administration, will continue to be a problem.



Integrated Child Development Services Scheme: A Study of Its Health Component in a Delhi Anganwadi

J.P. Gupta, V.K. Manchanda, R.K. Juyal and C.B. Joshi*

CHILD WELFARE services, meant to cover preschool children (*i.e.*, 0.6 years), could not draw much attention of the Government till late fifties. The earlier efforts (*i.e.*, during pre-independence era) centred round the missionary initiatives or voluntary organisations catering to the perceived needs of slum dwellers in larger cities and the services were rendered through 'clinic approach'. Even after the establishment of primary health centres (PHCs) with their sub-centres in the rural areas (1952) and the strengthening of family planning centres in the urban areas (1958), the focus of services rendered by these institutions remained on provision of services to the people in the reproductive age group. Perhaps due to the more urgent requirement to control communicable diseases or due to the paucity of funds the required attention was not given to child welfare services even when the infrastructure for basic health services had been set up in the country. However, the Government being seized with the problem appointed the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes (1959) which took up the case of neglected child health care and suggested certain measures. This further led to the appointment of various committees in between 1960-1972.¹ The recommendations of these committees centered around the provision of more curative, preventive and promotive services for the child population and integration of these services with the general health services. Consequently, the integrated child demonstration projects were launched during the Third Plan period. This was followed by family and child welfare projects sponsored by the Central Social Welfare Board. The basic aim behind these projects

* The authors are thankful to the Director, NIHFV for giving permission to develop the study, and also to Development Commissioner and Director, Social Welfare, Delhi Administration for allowing the study in the project area. Thanks are due to all the staff of the project, as well as the research staff of the department of planning and evaluation, NIHFV, New Delhi.

¹Child Care Committee (1960); Health Survey and Planning Committee (1962); Committee for Preparation of Programme for Children (1968) and the Study Group on Pre-School Education (1972).



was the provision of integrated health, nutrition and welfare services to children. However, the results obtained from these projects were not very encouraging.

Finally, the recommendations of various committees enabled the Government of India to adopt a resolution laying down the national policy for children (October, 1974), which ultimately formed the basis for setting up a National Children's Board (December, 1974) to coordinate, integrate, review and thereby suggest modification in the priorities accorded to different programmes. One of the outcome of these steps was the concept of integrated child development services (ICDS) scheme.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE SCHEME

Each ICDS project covers one development block with an estimated population of 100,000. The delivery of services is to be organised by opening 100 anganwadis, each covering a population of 1,000 and manned by an anganwadi worker. These workers are supervised by 4 to 5 supervisors, who are under a child development project officer (CDPO)—the chief executive of the project—and are responsible for looking into their day-to-day problems of anganwadi workers, who are females. Keeping in view the crucial role she has to play, her selection criteria, training and job responsibilities have been clearly laid down in the scheme. The number of beneficiaries for each target group for rural, urban and tribal projects has been hypothetically worked out.

In each project, the existing health staff of the attached MCH and family planning centres and the additional staff provided from the ICDS budget, work as a single unit and are jointly responsible for the achievement of the health targets in respect of health check-up, immunisation and referral. The health department is also responsible for health and nutrition education to women between the age group 15-44 years as also for the training of the personnel in the delivery of health services.

The experimental nature of the scheme and the package of services envisaged obviously call for a number of studies on the various aspects of its functioning so as to provide useful data to effect improvement in the scheme before its extension. Hence a study was taken up at one of the projects at the Jama Masjid area of Delhi, particularly with reference to the health component envisaged under the scheme. The data of this study has been utilised for this paper.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study were:

- (i) to study the fulfilment of criteria of selection of the anganwadi

- workers and adequacy of training undergone by them;
- (ii) to determine the type and frequency of health services provided by the anganwadi workers;
- (iii) to assess the community perception, satisfaction and participation in the scheme and its utilisation by them; and
- (iv) to identify the operational problems of anganwadi workers.

The sample size and method of data collection in respect of various objectives of the study have been summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1 SAMPLE SIZE AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION FOR THE STUDY

<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Sample Size</i>	<i>Methods of Data Collection</i>
1. Objective I	All the 100 anganwadis workers of the study area.	(i) A retrospective study of the records, available at CDPO office. (ii) Interviews of the officers at various levels. (iii) Multiple choice test items administered to the anganwadi workers.
2. Objective II	50, out of 100 anganwadis were selected randomly for retrospective study of records to collect data on services provided. Further 25, out of 50 already selected anganwadis, were selected randomly for prospective study to assess the time utilisation by the workers.	(i) Record study of the anganwadis. (ii) Observation study (<i>i.e.</i> , for 6 consecutive working days)
3. Objective III	8 families from each of the 50 anganwadis already selected for objective II, were selected. From this a sample size of 400 respondents (307 beneficiaries and 93 non-beneficiaries) was worked out.	Interviews of the respondents selected from the community.
4. Objective IV	The sample size already drawn in relation to objective II (<i>i.e.</i> , 50 anganwadis), was relied upon for this objective also.	Interviews of the anganwadi workers and other officials.

The ICDS project at Jama Masjid was initiated in October, 1975, with the opening of 27 anganwadis and this number rose to 100 by June, 1977; of these 100 anganwadis, 52 were in predominantly Muslim and 48 were in predominantly Hindu areas.

The scheme comprises of the slum areas of Jama Masjid, Matia Mahal, Turkman Gate and Ajmeri Gate lying on the fringe of the walled city and



covers around three wards of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. There are three maternity and child welfare centres and two maternity and one general hospital in the vicinity of the area to work as referral institutions for the scheme.

The population of the area according to 1971 census was 123,270 of which 54.2 per cent were males and 45.7 per cent females. Approximately half the population consists of Muslims and the other half are Hindus (mostly belonging to balmiki, chamar and dhobi castes) who are economically and socially backward, comprising of artisans, wage earners in factories and shops.

In September, 1977, the population covered by the project was 95,493. A total number of 10,101 out of 15,793 (64.0 per cent) of children and 2,104 out of 4,072 (51.6 per cent) of expectant and nursing mothers were registered with anganwadis.

STUDY FINDINGS

The findings related to the objectives of the study are presented in four sections below.

Fulfilment of Criteria of Selection of Anganwadi Workers (n=100)

Sex: All the anganwadi workers of the study area were females fulfilling the criteria prescribed.

Age: All the anganwadi workers of the study area were within the prescribed age range (i.e., 18-45 years) and 83 per cent of them were in the age groups of 18-27 years.

Educational Status: Amongst the anganwadi workers, 6 were under-matric, 61 were matric/higher secondary, 13 intermediate, 16 graduates and 4 post-graduates. The prescribed criteria of educational qualifications for urban area (i.e., matric/higher secondary) was not fulfilled in 6 per cent of the cases.

Religion and Community Served by the Workers: Of 100 anganwadi workers, 33 were Muslims, 63 Hindus, 3 Sikhs and one Christian. It was found that only in 77 (33 out of 52 predominantly Muslim and 44 out of 48 predominantly Hindu) anganwadis the workers of the same community were serving as envisaged under the criteria.

Residence: Only 64 per cent anganwadi workers were residing in the project area while 36 per cent were commuting from outside. As such, the requirement of local residence was not adhered to in 36 per cent cases.

Acceptance by the Community: Study of responses of the community shows that 98.4 per cent beneficiaries and 36.6 per cent non-beneficiaries were satisfied with the contacts made by the anganwadi workers.

Adequacy of Training Undergone (n=100): The results obtained by administering of multiple choice test items to 94 out of 100 workers present on the day of test are shown in the Table 2.

TABLE 2 SCORES OBTAINED BY THE WORKERS

Group of Anganwadi Workers	Scores		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Trained (n=85)	32.5	5.7	4-42
Untrained (n=9)	31.8	4.0	25-38
Absent during test (n=6)	—	—	—
Sub-total	32.4	5.6	4-42

The scores obtained by the workers do not show any significant difference between those trained and untrained.

Type and Frequency of Health Services (n=50)

The findings in respect of 5,349 (2,847 in Muslim and 2,502 in predominantly Hindu anganwadis) children (0-6 years) registered with 50 (27 Muslim and 23 Hindu) anganwadis are discussed below.

Serial Recording of Weight for Age: The anganwadi workers are to take the weight of each child once in every month. This target was achieved to the extent of 60 per cent and 57.9 per cent cases in Muslim and Hindu anganwadis respectively.

Nutritional Status: The distribution of children according to five grade of nutritional status is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO NUTRITIONAL STATUS (n=5,349)

Grades of Nutrition	Group of Anganwadi				Total	
	Hindu (n=23)		Muslim (n=27)		(n=50)	
	At Registration	At the time of Study	At Registration	At the time of Study	At Registration	At the time of Study
Normal	22.5	23.9	31.3	31.8	27.2	28.2
First ¹	33.4	40.6	37.3	42.0	35.5	41.3
Second ²	30.3	27.4	24.7	21.2	27.3	24.1
Third ³	10.2	6.4	5.7	4.4	7.8	5.3
Fourth ⁴	3.6	1.7	1.0	0.6	2.2	1.1
Sub-total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nutritional grading not done	8.1	20.2	5.5	18.4	6.7	19.2

¹ Slightly malnourished.

³ Severely malnourished.

² Moderately malnourished.

⁴ Severely malnourished requiring hospitalisation.

The grading of children according to their nutritional status was not done



in the case of 6.7 per cent and 19.2 per cent children at the time of their registration at the anganwadis and at the time of the study respectively.

More children in the Hindu group of anganwadis were in the mal-nourished grades, both at the time of registration as well as at the time of the study. This table also shows that the nutritional status of children had improved in both the groups, more so in the Hindu group, perhaps due to the supplementary nutrition given at the anganwadis.

Supplementary Nutrition: The distribution of children according to the supplementary nutrition is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO SUPPLEMENTARY NUTRITION GIVEN ($n=5,349$)

Group of Anganwadi	Supplementary Nutrition			Total (n=50)
	Not given	Given/type of		
		Normal	Special	
Hindu (n=23)	19.7	73.2	7.1	100.0
Muslim (n=27)	25.3	70.4	4.3	100.0
Total	22.7	71.7	5.6	100.0

At the time of the study 30.5 per cent children were in the nutrition grades entitled for supplementary nutrition (second, third and fourth). However it was being provided to more (77.3 per cent) children than were entitled as per the criteria of selection.

Immunisation: The percentage distribution of children according to immunisation given is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO IMMUNISATIONS GIVEN ($n=5,349$)

Immunisation	No. of children	
	Given	Not given
Smallpox	90.4	9.6
BCG	64.6	35.4
DPT	63.4	36.6
DT	2.1	97.9
Polio	32.7	67.3
TAB	1.1	98.9

The main accent of immunisation was on smallpox, BCG and DPT while in other cases the coverage was low.

Health Check-up: Health check-up was given to 21.7 per cent and 31.8 per cent of children in the Muslim and Hindu anganwadis respectively. The

stay of children in anganwadi and number of health check-ups given is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO STAY AT ANGANWADI AND NUMBER OF TIMES GENERAL CHECK-UP GIVEN ($n=5,349$)

Stay of children at Anganwadi (months)	Total	General check-up		Number of times			
		Not given	Given	1	2	3	4+
0-5	100.0	83.3	16.7	13.6	2.1	0.8	0.2
6-11	100.0	65.4	34.6	20.0	8.2	5.2	1.2
12+	100.0	51.9	48.1	22.2	15.2	8.3	2.4
Total	100.0	73.6	26.4	16.9	5.6	3.2	0.7

This table does not show any relationship between stay of children and the number of check-ups given, 51.9 per cent of those who had a stay of 12 months or more had not been given a single check-up against possible 2 or more. Similarly 6.4 per cent of those with a stay of up to 11 months and entitled to two check-ups had received three or more. Further, as prescribed, the children in the third and fourth grades (Table 3), must receive immediate and more frequent check-ups, but it was found that 42.9 per cent and 25.7 per cent children in these groups, respectively, did not receive a single check-up.

Supplementary Nutrition to Expectant and Nursing Mothers: At the time of study (September 1977) there were 4,072 mothers in the area, as per survey of workers, and 2,104 (51.6 per cent) were registered with anganwadi and 1,522 (37.3 per cent), were getting supplementary nutrition.

Deworming: Only 2.1 per cent children, 1.6 per cent in Muslim group and 2.8 per cent in Hindu group of anganwadis had received deworming therapy.

Vitamin A: Each child is to get a dose of 'vitamin-A' once in every 6 months but it was found that 34.7 per cent (36.9 per cent in Muslim and 32.3 per cent in Hindu anganwadis) did not receive a single dose. The break up of doses shows that only 24.6 per cent out of 48.4 per cent of children (Table 6) had received more than two doses as prescribed.

Referrals: The percentage distribution of children according to the referrals made and the relationship between referrals and nutrition status of children is shown in Table 7.

It can be seen that only 3.2 per cent children had been referred to specialised institutions at one time or the other. However, when related to nutritional status of the children, it can be seen that 80.7 per cent of children in nutrition grade four, who should have been referred for specialised treatment, were not given any referrals.

Observation Study: The percentage time per activity per day for the



different activities grouped into health, non-health and productive and non-productive activities is presented in Table 8.

TABLE 7 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF CHILDREN AND REFERRALS MADE ($n=5,349$)

Nutritional Grade	Referrals		Total
	Given	Not given	
Normal	1.3	98.7	100.0
First	1.9	98.1	100.0
Second	4.3	95.7	100.0
Third	10.6	89.4	100.0
Fourth	19.3	80.7	100.0
Grading not done	—	6.7	100.0
Total	3.2	96.8	100.0

TABLE 8 UTILISATION OF THE AVAILABLE TIME AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF ACTIVITIES

Activity	Time devoted per activity per day (percentage)	
I. <i>Productive</i>		
A. <i>Health and related activities</i>		
(i) Supplementary nutrition	8.3	
(ii) Health check-up	4.2	
(iii) Health & Nutrition education	1.3	
(iv) Immunisation	1.4	
(v) Home visit	5.7	
Sub-total		20.9
B. <i>Others (non-health)</i>		
(i) Cleaning & preparing anganwadi	3.5	
(ii) Non-formal pre-school education	15.1	
(iii) Records	14.4	
(iv) Functional literacy	7.1	
(v) Meetings	5.0	
(vi) Collecting pay, repairs, etc.	9.1	
Sub-total		54.2
II. <i>Non-Productive</i>		
(i) Necessary physical requirements	3.2	
(ii) Unavoidables	4.4	
(iii) Idle	6.9	
(iv) Arrived late	2.1	
(v) Absent	8.3	
Sub-total		24.9
Total		100.0

Out of the non-productive time of 24.9 per cent per day, 7.6 per cent was spent on necessary physical requirements and unavoidable, while a major

portion 17.3 per cent was related to sitting idle, late arrival and absence from anganwadi.

It is further seen that out of the time spent (20.9 per cent) by the anganwadi worker on health and related activities at the anganwadi, a major portion was spent on supplementary nutrition (39.5 per cent) and health check-up (20.2 per cent).

Perception Utilisation, Satisfaction and Participation of the Community (n=400)

The findings obtained through 400 (152 Muslims and 248 Hindus) interviews of the community members are discussed below.

Perception: The responses of the community members, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, regarding the source of first information about the presence of anganwadi, frequency and purpose of visit of the workers to families, community knowledge about services rendered, are summarised in the Table 9.

TABLE 9 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES REGARDING
' PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY

<i>Item of Information</i>	<i>Beneficiaries (n=307)</i>	<i>Non-beneficiaries (n=93)</i>
*1. Source of initial knowledge		
(i) Anganwadi worker	77.2	73.1
(ii) Children in family	10.1	6.5
(iii) Neighbours	9.1	9.7
2. Frequency of contact made by the worker		
(i) Often	33.9	16.1
(ii) Occasional	66.1	71.0
3. Purpose of contact made		
(i) Inform about services	17.6	9.7
(ii) Collect children	36.8	49.5
(iii) Enquire about health	32.9	16.1
4. Number and type of services known		
(i) Five and more types of services	48.9	11.8

* The main items of information have been shown in the table and as such the percentages may not add to 100 per cent.

The main source of initial knowledge about the anganwadi was through the workers, who made contacts with the beneficiaries more often than non-beneficiaries, the main purpose of contact being collection of children. Majority of beneficiaries knew about more than five services.

Utilisation of Services: For assessing the utilisation of services, the respondents were asked about the location of the anganwadis, regularity of their visiting anganwadi and the number of services availed. The responses regarding location and regularity are summarised and given in Table 10.

The non-beneficiaries are largely not satisfied with the location of the



TABLE 10 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONSES OF COMMUNITY REGARDING LOCATION AND REGULARITY OF VISITING ANGANWADI

Item of information	Beneficiaries (n=307)	Non-beneficiaries (n=93)
1. Location		
(i) Satisfied	97.7	64.5
(ii) Not satisfied	2.3	35.5
2. Causes of dissatisfaction		
(i) Distance is more	1.0	7.5
(ii) Location unhygienic	1.3	14.0
(iii) Inhabited by community unacceptable to respondents	—	14.0
3. Utilising services		
(i) Regular	98.7	—
(ii) Not regularly	1.3	—
(iii) Seldom	—	17.2
(iv) Never	—	82.8

anganwadis, the main cause being the social insanitary environment. As expected only 17.2 per cent beneficiaries have on some occasion availed the services, the main causes being not interested (32.3 per cent), children going to school (17.1) and no one to escort the children (10.8).

The responses regarding the number of services availed *vis-a-vis* the number known are given in the Table 11.

TABLE 11 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF SERVICES KNOWN AND AVAILED

Number of services	Beneficiaries (n=307)		Non-beneficiaries (n=93)	
	known	availed	known	availed
One	10.7	9.8	17.2	1.1
Two	13.7	12.1	18.3	2.2
Three	11.4	16.3	14.0	3.2
Four	15.3	21.5	20.4	8.5
Five and more	48.9	40.3	11.8	2.2
No response	—	—	18.3	82.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The utilisation of services by beneficiaries was 100 per cent while it was 17.2 per cent only in the case of non-beneficiaries. Of the beneficiaries 40.3 per cent had utilised five or more services while only 2.2 per cent non-beneficiaries had availed of these at one time or the other.

Satisfaction: It was found that 97.1 per cent of beneficiaries were satisfied with the services; of the 17.2 per cent non-beneficiaries who utilised the services, half did not comment while the remaining were not satisfied. The

reasons of dissatisfaction of the community were, quality of food (1.3 per cent beneficiaries and 3.2 per cent non-beneficiaries) quantity of food (0.9 per cent beneficiary and 3.2 per cent non-beneficiaries) and more medicines required (0.7 per cent beneficiaries and 2.2 per cent non-beneficiaries).

Usefulness of Services: 89.3 per cent beneficiaries and 12.9 per cent non-beneficiaries felt that services given by anganwadi workers were useful. Only 2.6 per cent of beneficiaries and 3.2 per cent of non-beneficiaries felt that the services provided were not useful.

Contact with Workers: The community (82.3 per cent) felt that the contact made by the workers was useful. 1.3 per cent beneficiaries and 62.3 per cent non-beneficiaries did not comment.

Participation: The percentage distribution of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries who had rendered help, and the purpose for which such help had been rendered, are presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF HELP GIVEN

Type of help	Beneficiaries (n=307)	Non-beneficiaries (n=93)	Total
Donation of cash and kind	16.0	1.1	12.5
Looking after the children	6.5	3.2	5.8
Cleaning and washing the anganwadi	1.6	1.1	1.5
Supply of water	1.3	—	1.0
No help	74.6	94.6	79.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

From the above table it can be seen that 25.4 per cent beneficiaries and 5.4 per cent non-beneficiaries had helped the anganwadi workers in one form or the other.

Operational Problems of the Anganwadi Workers (n=50)

The problems expressed by the anganwadi workers in respect of their job functions are as follows:

Health Check-up: Thirty per cent of the workers felt problems regarding health check-up. The difficulties were carrying the children to the centre at their own risk (12 per cent) and M.O./LHV not visiting the anganwadis regularly and on fixed dates.

Immunisation: The percentage distribution of workers according to problems faced by them in relation to immunisation programme is shown in Table 13.

Forty-two per cent of the workers found collecting children for immunisations as a problem, and of these (12 per cent) attributed the reasons for this to the lack of prior information regarding the visits of the LHVs to anganwadis for immunisation.



TABLE 13 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ANGANWADI WORKERS
ACCORDING TO THEIR PROBLEMS REGARDING IMMUNISATION
PROGRAMME

Type of functions	No. of workers reporting problems	Nature of Problems				
		LHV does not help	LHV comes without prior in- formation	Taking children to angan- wadi for polio vac.	Side effects not followed up	Have to tell parents repeatedly
1. Immunisation	24	24	—	—	—	—
2. Collecting children for immunisation	42	—	12	6	6	18
3. Educating parents	26	20	—	—	—	6
4. Follow-up	8	—	—	—	8	—

Expectant and Nursing Mothers: The percentage distribution of workers according to problems faced by them in rendering services to the expectant and nursing mothers is shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ANGANWADI WORKERS
IN RELATION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SERVICES TO EXPECTANT
AND NURSING MOTHERS

Type of Functions	No. of workers reporting problems	Nature of Problems				Won't take the food as supplied
		Ladies hesitate to tell	Ladies do not like to go to the centre	Big hos- pitals nearby	No help from health staff	
1. Enlisting expectant mothers	12	10	—	—	2	—
2. Ante-natal and post-natal check-up	18	—	8	10	—	—
3. Supplementary nutrition	32	—	—	—	—	32
4. Imparting education to pregnant and nursing mothers	4	—	—	—	4	—
5. Home visits	60	—	—	—	60	—

The majority (60 per cent) of workers found home visiting a problem especially due to lack of help from health staff; 32 per cent of the workers said the ladies would not like the food offered under the supplementary nutrition programme. Twelve per cent and 18 per cent of the workers felt difficulties in enlisting the mothers for ante-natal and post-natal check-up respectively.



'Supplementary Nutrition: The percentage distribution of workers according to problems faced by them regarding supplementary nutrition is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ANGANWADI WORKERS IN RESPECT OF THE PROBLEMS OF SUPPLEMENTARY NUTRITION

Problems in relation to	No. of workers reporting problems	Nature of Problems				
		Have to store in gunny bags	Have to borrow from community	Cook outside	Distant sources	Won't take home food
1. Equipment for :						
(i) Storage of food	6	6	—	—	—	—
(ii) Cooking of food	10	—	10	—	—	—
2. Space for cooking at anganwadi	14	—	—	14	—	—
3. Procurement of kerosene oil and food articles	44	—	—	—	44	—
4. Distribution of food at anganwadis	32	—	—	—	—	32

The supplies (44 per cent) and distribution of food at anganwadi (32 per cent) are the problematic areas related to this activity.

Records: Forty-four per cent of the workers complained that there was a duplication of certain records such as health and immunisation records on weight books, health cards and immunisation cards and daily diary movement register and attendance registers for the same purpose.

Personal Problems of Anganwadi Workers: Apart from operational problems, the workers pointed out certain other problems related to honorarium, travelling from residence to anganwadi, leave and working space, etc. Responses to this effect are summarised in Table 16.

The main area of dissatisfaction of the workers related to the honorarium.

DISCUSSION

The scheme was introduced in October, 1975 with the opening of 27 instead of the full strength of 100 anganwadis. The targetted number could only be achieved by June, 1977. This indicates lack of full preparation on the part of the sponsoring authority to introduce the scheme in the project area at a time in spite of the monetary input.

Though the scheme was to be launched in 100 anganwadis at one time, this could be achieved only in a phased manner. This resulted in functioning



TABLE 16 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PERSONAL PROBLEMS

	Percentage of workers
1. <i>Honorarium</i>	
Satisfied	2
Not fully-satisfied	6
Not satisfied	92
2. <i>Travelling from residence to Anganwadi</i>	
Satisfied	84
Not satisfied	16
3. <i>Getting leave</i>	
No difficulty	78
Difficulty	22
4. <i>Working Space</i>	
Adequate	80
Not adequate	20

of the various anganwadis in the same project area at different point of time. Consequently, the base line data of the different anganwadis is not comparable. Further different time span of service of anganwadis has affected the liaison with the community and has a bearing on the coverage and frequency of services provided.

Regarding the criteria of educational qualifications 20 per cent of the anganwadi workers were much more qualified than envisaged under the scheme. This higher qualification may be one of the factors responsible for the frustration amongst the workers with regard to the nature of the duties expected and the quantum of honorarium paid to them. Besides, 23 per cent of the workers were serving communities other than they belonged to and another 36 per cent were not residing in the same area. Further, the presence of 6 per cent of the workers not fulfilling the essential qualifications added to the frustration of the others. Perhaps some specific considerations and unwillingness/non-availability of the right type of the female candidates for the job were the reasons of this selection. All these factors are of far-reaching consequences as far as functioning of the project is concerned, particularly in the context of its being monitored for further extension to other areas.

It was interesting to note that there was no statistically significant difference in the level of knowledge and understanding between the anganwadi workers having formal training and those untrained. It implies that on the job training given to the untrained workers and their own initiative to learn has made up the gap. It reflects upon the utility of formal training imparted to the workers at the balsevika training school. This is an area which needs proper thinking and planning to bring about changes in curricula and the duration of the formal training at the policy planning level.

The type and frequency of health services stipulated under the scheme have not been fully achieved. The quality of health services rendered has also

been affected in various ways; viz., low range frequency of services pertaining to health check-up; supplementary nutrition and referral in the absence of grading of all the children; the clientele not being fully protected by immunisations by administering the required doses; the progress of expectant and nursing mothers not continuously observed due to lack of regular check-ups, etc.

The factors responsible for this are: non-adherence of health staff to fixed programme of visits; location of anganwadis in congested and unacceptable areas; and availability of health care services through two hospitals in the vicinity. Of these, in respect of the latter two factors, no immediate solution is possible. However, the coverage of the population could be considerably improved provided the health staff adheres to their fixed and appointed schedule of visits to anganwadis. This would save the anganwadi workers from embarrassment caused to them by non-availability of health staff when they have already collected the children and expectant and nursing mothers for the services. This works as a bottleneck for them in subsequent occasions to collect the clientele for the services. As such there is a need to have a close coordination between the health staff and the anganwadi workers. The prevailing field situation also reflects upon the supervision at different levels which seems to be unplanned.

Only 20.9 per cent of the available time was spent on the activities related to health while 24.9 per cent time was spent on non-productive work. There was a scope for diverting 17 per cent (*i.e.*, idle, late and absent) of available time to health activities by way of better supervision and by introducing proper motivation amongst the workers.

The involvement of the anganwadi workers in the activities like preparing the anganwadi, record-keeping and preparation, and service of supplementary nutrition and procurement of supplies, also leaves the workers with less time for other productive activity. Increased participation of the local community in the management of anganwadis and the simplification of the record system may further help the workers to devote more time on health activities.

The perception, utilisation, satisfaction and participation of the non-beneficiaries was low as they were not given complete knowledge about the scheme, its services and benefits through regular contacts by the workers and other staff. There has been a tendency among the anganwadi workers to visit beneficiaries more often than non-beneficiaries. Increased contacts with non-beneficiaries would be much more fruitful to achieve the desired results.

The operational problems, particularly in relation to the service component of the health services, are mainly because of lack of coordination and understanding between the anganwadi workers and the health staff. Most of these problems could be managed. As far as personal problems are concerned, except for honoraria, the percentage of response in other areas is not high.



SUGGESTIONS

It would be desirable to launch the scheme in a project area in its full strength and the criteria of selection of workers may be strictly adhered to. There is a need to revise the training curricula designed for the workers so as to make it more job-oriented. Strengthening of supervision, reorganisation of procedures and methods and increased participation of the community would release more time to the workers for the productive activities. Above all, coordination among the various functionaries of the scheme could be further streamlined.



Some Issues and Problems in Child Welfare Evaluation from the Policymaking Perspective

Arie Halachmi

CHILDREN ARE the most valuable asset of any society. In some cases, child rearing is the reason *d'être* for bringing a group of people together to form and to maintain a particular social order. However, in all the cases, the future survival of any member of society is dependent on the role children play as grownups. The child who is the infant of one may be the one who provides food and shelter some years later not only to his parents or care takers but to many other members of their respective charts. Thus as one generation replaces another as the backbone of the economic activities and societal services, care takers change roles. From the support and protection of children they themselves become dependent in their old age on these children as adults.

The relationship between child care and old aged care is a spiral relation.¹ The quality and adequacy of child care determines how well one would function as an adult, and, therefore, how well he would take care of those that took care of him, and of his own young ones—those that would take care of him, in his old age as well as of his grandchildren, and so on. This spiral relation does not imply that child care is detrimental to the future of a particular family. Rather, it expresses the general responsibility of society with regard to children's welfare as a function of its possible influence on practices of child rearing which, in turn, influence the general welfare and the survival of that society. The spiral relation in this case suggests an intensifying and self-perpetuating process where inadequate practices generate more inadequacy while improved practices result in a higher level of welfare. Also, the spiral relation suggests that an existing pattern of child rearing cannot change course by itself. In other words, there is a need for external intervention to influence a change in this process.

Because of the spiral relations between child care and societal develop-

¹The possible use and the nature of the spiral relation in describing social policymaking was discussed in Arie Halachmi's "From Descriptive, Explanatory and Prescriptive Views of Policy Analysis to a Spiral Perspective," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 24(4), October-December 1978, pp. 957-972.



ment, the study of children's welfare and the possible ways to intervene in order to improve it should be a focal point of public policy making. Any attempt to overlook the implications of public policy on the welfare of children amounts to a short sighted approach that disregards the future. Yet, the study of the different ways to promote children's welfare is not an easy task. Even the most conscious effort to enhance the welfare of children cannot guarantee the desired influence as the future welfare of society. The reason is that children's welfare consists of so many facets that there is no single measurement that can express its status (or changes in it) accurately. For example, the success of efforts to improve children's nutrition is not sufficient evidence of cognitive or mental development, proper housing does not guarantee a desired pattern of family relations, and the availability of pediatric services does not imply adequate maternal care.

The inability to use a single direct measurement of welfare suggests the need to develop a series of partial indicators. These should provide policy-makers with a reliable approximation of changes in the status of children's welfare.

The purpose of this paper is to address selected aspects and problems of evaluating children's welfare. The paper starts with a suggestion to design such evaluations to assess public efforts (that are expressed by public policies and programmes) rather than the direct changes in certain measurements of children's welfare. The paper suggests some of the possible criteria that can be used for that purpose. It examines the ideological and economic rationales for the state intervention to influence welfare and the special significance of the proposition to use the criterion of availability as an important one. The paper concludes with a series of comments on two epistemological problems in the evaluation of children's welfare. It suggests to use the home rather than the family as a focal frame of reference. And, to include in the assessed efforts to influence welfare of children all the policies that seem to influence child abuse.

CHILDREN'S WELFARE: EFFORTS VS. RESULTS

Welfare is a concept that deals with the wellbeing of individuals in society. Therefore, its exact content changes from place to place. Because of the difficulty to measure welfare directly we need to use indirect or secondary measures of welfare. The underlining assumption here is that welfare results in (or is dependent on) planned activities of the state. A state is a welfare state if it recognises its responsibility to engage in those activities that are likely to assure a certain minimum of social and economic conditions of security for all its citizens. For that reason one of the secondary (and indirect) measures of welfare can be a measure of the state's effort in creating the desired conditions. When these conditions do not exist and/or when we cannot identify a state's effort to create them we may assume that the state is not a welfare state.

The emphasis on the efforts to create necessary conditions, rather than on their actual results—*i.e.*, the level of welfare that is obtained underlines my assertion that a realistic evaluation of welfare must give due consideration to the special context and the different constraints on government's action in each case. This assertion is particularly relevant to the case of children's welfare. Here, the emphasis on assessment of efforts implies that good nutrition, healthy environment and proper intellectual and emotional development may result because of many reasons other than the state's intervention. To characterise children's welfare as a direct product of state's policies is to write off the natural talents, instincts, traditions and skills of individual parents for the sake of a doctrine that identifies welfare (and the welfare state) with totalitarian approach. The position taken here and by other writers is that the responsibility of the state is to assist families and parents to carry out their roles but not to replace them.²

A non-totalitarian approach to welfare suggests that evaluation of public policies should be done by reference to the government's efforts to elevate the status of children—to create the necessary conditions—and not by a measure of actual results. For reference to results may indicate more of the state of art and the availability of resources than on the commitment of the government to this issue. It may indicate how severe the constraints, under which action takes place, are but very little on how optimal this action is under the given constraints. Such an approach may yield to the temptation to make the invalid comparison of children's welfare in different states regardless of such factors as rate of population growth, urbanisation, per capita income, etc. This point deserves some further discussion. The status of children's welfare at any time does not reveal the adequacy of the state's policies. Adverse findings by themselves imply less than a satisfactory situation. However, such findings may mask the fact that the bad situation in the present represents an improvement in comparison to a worse situation in the past.

The evaluation of the effort rather than the desirability of the existing status of children acknowledges the existence of constraints on government action. It maintains the demand for rationality and accountability of public officials, while resisting the temptation to make a goal out of the concept of welfare which, in turn, may justify the use of totalitarian means. This paper accepts the existence of a social order and economic conditions as given and searches for ways by which to increase the effectiveness of existing policies. In comparison, an approach that concentrates on the *result* rather than the *effort* may easily end up with the shocking conclusion that child rearing is too important to be left to the parents and hence with a totalitarian notion of welfare.

²This point is emphasised in *Toward a National Policy for Children and Families*. Report of the Advisory Committee on Child Development Assembly of Behavioural and Social Sciences, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1976. See for example, pp. 65, 77, 90.



EVALUATION CRITERIA

Evaluation of public efforts to influence the welfare of children is an attempt to assess what is being done, how well it is done and what else can or should be done. Due to the complexity of these public efforts and their mixed (and often unclear) results, this assessment must rely on a series of criteria. Each of these criteria provides a partial answer by ascertaining the actual level or quality of selected aspects of these efforts. A comprehensive assessment necessitates the use of an elaborate set of criteria. However, a limited evaluation—one that can be carried out within a relatively short period of time in order to provide decision-makers with policy related input of information—can be based on a few selected criteria. In each case, the availability of resources, and the policy question (or agenda) would influence the number and sort of criteria that would be used to ascertain the level of the relevant efforts. However, there are certain criteria that ought to be used in each evaluation. These criteria include:

1. *Availability*: This criterion determines what services, assistance and support are available to parents as indicated by two independent measures:
 - (a) *Affordability*: How many families can afford to use the available services, assistance or support for child rearing?
 - (b) *Scope*: What sort of services are available (e.g., educational, medical, social work, etc.)? How much of the country is covered by the same set of related programmes or to what extent some services are limited only to urban areas or to communities above a certain size? What age groups are eligible to enjoy different services (e.g., are services limited only to school or to pre-school ages, etc.)?
2. *Effectiveness*: Are there long lasting and significant changes in the conditions of children that can be attributed directly to services, assistance or support provided by public policies? Are there long lasting and significant changes in the ability of parents to carry out their parental roles in a more comprehensive and successful manner? A follow-through procedure to monitor the result and to collect the necessary data to answer these questions is a precondition for using this criterion to determine to what extent the existing efforts are real or whether they are symbolic and nominal; whether they are adequate and sufficient given the general socio-economic profile of the population and the nature of local constraints.
3. *Efficiency*: This criterion examines the political economy of the efforts to answer such questions as: Are services provided in a way that secure approval and support of their recipients? Is there adequate



manpower and organisation to carry out the different programmes? Is there enough flexibility to allow variation in response to different needs in various parts of the country or for various segments of the public? Are there provisions to allow maximum participation of parents in the planning and implementation of the different programmes? Is it possible to increase the effectiveness of public effort significantly by a marginal decrease in their efficiency (or *vice versa*)?

4. *Contextuality*: This criterion examines the existing efforts within the given socio-economic and political context. It ascertains the quality of public efforts to influence children's welfare by asking questions like: what are the mechanisms to coordinate different policies that may influence children's welfare? How well do these mechanisms function? How consistent are the different efforts with one another at the present, with past efforts or with those efforts that are planned for the future? For example, application of this criterion may raise the question about the possibility that the availability of non-expensive child care services is a negative incentive and a contradiction to state's other efforts to encourage family planning.

Since I have discussed the last three criteria elsewhere,³ I would like to concentrate here on the use of the availability of services and support as a major criterion in the evaluation of children's welfare.

AVAILABILITY OF SUPPORT AND SERVICES FOR CHILD CARE

The assertion that wider the availability of services, support or assistance the better, is true only if there is an agreement about a specific value position. This position can be stated as follows: All children are eligible to the same opportunities regardless of the socio-economic status of their parents. The value that is supported by this position is egalitarianism. All newborns are equal. According to this value position the extent to which parents made it economically and socially is irrelevant to the child's future because social and economic status is not (or should not) be an inherited virtue. Rather, they should result from talent and hard work of the individual himself.

This value position has several important implications for the general direction, implementation and evaluation of policies concerning the welfare of children. First, this position implies that the state has a role (if not a duty) in compensating children for deficiencies resulting from the socio-economic status of their parents. The responsibility of the state to secure the same opportunities to each child suggests a possible measure by which to assess availability. This measure is based on the assessment of the gap between the

³Arie Halachmi, "The Use of Policy Evaluation in Policymaking," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 23(4), 1977, pp. 1035-1052.



level of the necessary conditions for physical and mental development in the case of children from high income families in a given state to those of low income families in the same state. Such conditions include (but are not limited to): housing, nutrition, educational stimulation, medical care, stability of the family unit, etc. Availability goes up as the state moves in to supplement, remedy or provide solutions for more deficient conditions, *i.e.*, those adverse or insufficient conditions that may interfere with the ability of a child from a low income family to fully develop his potential in comparison with a child that is born to a wealthy family.

The existing body of knowledge on planned intervention in child rearing and particularly concerning the effects of different arrangements of day-care on the intellectual development of pre-school children provides an excellent case in point to illustrate the possible role of the state in assuming equal opportunities through planned intervention.⁴ The ideological rationales for the state's involvement in child care may differ from place to place and from time to time. However, as pointed out by Kathleen Dunlop, there are three general orientations that characterise them: reactive-maintenance, reform, and proactive revolutionary orientations.⁵

The reactive-maintenance oriented rationales include, according to Dunlop, responses to needs created by war; responses to needs created by economic crises; and responses to the needs of children in crisis.⁶ Reform oriented rationales can fall into six sub-categories: responses to social trends; enhancing child development; enhancing parental competence; providing support to families; supporting equal opportunities for women and community development.⁷ Rationales oriented toward radical reform or revolution emphasise the needs of society rather than the needs of the child. As Dunlop puts it:

These rationales are thus distinguished from those in the maintenance-oriented category, where responses to change are manifested in an attempt

⁴Recent reviews include for example Jay Belsky and Laurence D. Steinberg "The Effects of Day Care: A Critical Review," *Child Development*, 49 (December) 1978, pp. 929-949; and Louise Barnes and Kathleen H. Dunlop, *The Effects of Day Care: Empirical Evidence*, Vanderbilt Institute for Public Policy Studies (mimeo), Nashville, June 1979. A summary and a special reference to the American experience of government intervention in child care can be found in two Congressional reports, *Child Care and Preschool: Options for Federal Support*, Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., September 1978 and *Early Childhood and Family Development Programs Improve the Quality of Life for Low-Income Families*, by the Comptroller General, General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., February 1979.

⁵Kathleen H. Dunlop, *Rationales for Governmental Intervention into Child Care and Parent Education*, Vanderbilt Institute for Public Policy Studies (mimeo.), Nashville, October 1978, pp. 2-3.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 14.



to restore a pre-established social order. They are also distinguished from rationales in the reform-oriented category, where governmental orientation is generally focused on incremental social change.⁸

The economic rationale for the government's intervention in child care and development is not independent from the ideological rationales. Thus, there are contradictory claims about the inexistence of economic rationale for public policies and state intervention in practices of child care. For example, a 1978 study by the U.S. Congress pointed out that availability of day-care is not a factor of primary significance for a substantial number of women seeking employment.⁹ Thus, a state intervention in day-care services cannot be considered as a way by which to influence the labour market or the economy. On the other hand there are other reports that emphasise the economic wisdom of the investment in children from low income families because such investment may lead to probable savings later on, e.g., remedial teaching, probation and law enforcement services, and finally on financial support of such children as they grow and have families of their own. A 1977 analysis by Irving Lazar of data from 14 studies of low income children who participated in experimental infant and pre-school programmes prior to 1969 provides important evidence. The Lazar study points out that children participating in early developmental programmes were held back in grade or required special education less often than control groups, and scored consistently higher on intelligence tests.¹⁰ About the same time that the Lazar study was published the Comptroller General submitted his report on learning disabilities to the U.S. Congress. In this report the Comptroller General points out that out of 129 juveniles that were tested, 128 were found to be functioning below the corresponding grade level.¹¹ In 1979 the Comptroller General issued another report. The 1979 report on early childhood and family development programmes provides more evidence about the possible link of the above findings with other data of education and criminal behaviour by reference to educational deficiencies of adult prisoners.¹²

Another economic rationale that justifies government intervention to assure appropriate conditions for child development points to the interest of every state to cultivate its human resources. Here government intervention, and particularly in the case of children from low income families, is considered

⁸Kathleen H. Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁹Child Care and Preschool (1978), *op. cit.*, p. xi.

¹⁰Irving Lazar, *The Persistence of Preschool Effects*, Education Commission of the States, September 1977.

¹¹Irving Lazar, *Learning Disabilities: The Link to Delinquency Should Be Determined But Schools Should do More Now*, a report by the Comptroller General, General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., March 1977.

¹²Early Childhood and Family Development Programs (1979), *op. cit.*, p. 27.



to be an important factor that influences the odds that children would mature to become productive adults that contribute to society, rather than a societal liability. The chart on next page graphically summarises the evidence that was found by the Comptroller General to support the claim that results from this rationale, namely, that: "the quality of the environment experienced by the developing child during the prenatal and early childhood periods of life has important long-term consequences."¹³

EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT AND THE CRITERION OF AVAILABILITY

Benjamin Bloom—one of the leading authorities on child development—wrote in 1964 that 50 per cent of intelligence measurable at age 17 is developed by the time a child is age 4.¹⁴ Speaking about the influence of the child's early environment on his intellectual development Bloom says:

A conservative estimate of the effect of extreme environments on intelligence is about 20 points. This could mean the difference between a life in an institution for the feeble-minded or a productive life in society. It could mean the difference between a professional career and an occupation which is at the semi-skilled or unskilled level.¹⁵

This claim about the potential effectiveness of early educational intervention on the intellectual development of children—and particularly in the case of the so-called 'high risk children'—is made repeatedly by several writers.¹⁶ For our purpose here, this claim suggests an important guideline and an economic rationale for public efforts to facilitate better environments of children from low income families. Because there is a higher likelihood of the existence of adverse conditions and an 'extreme environment' in the case of low income families, higher is the likelihood that an addition of 20 IQ points would result in the critical differences that are claimed by Bloom. For that reason, the economic returns on the public investment in early intervention may be bigger than an investment in later efforts to improve children's welfare.

From the previous discussion it seems that the criterion of availability implies the use of those measurements of public effort that indicate the extent

¹³Early Childhood and Family Development Programs, (1979), *op. cit.*, p. 28.

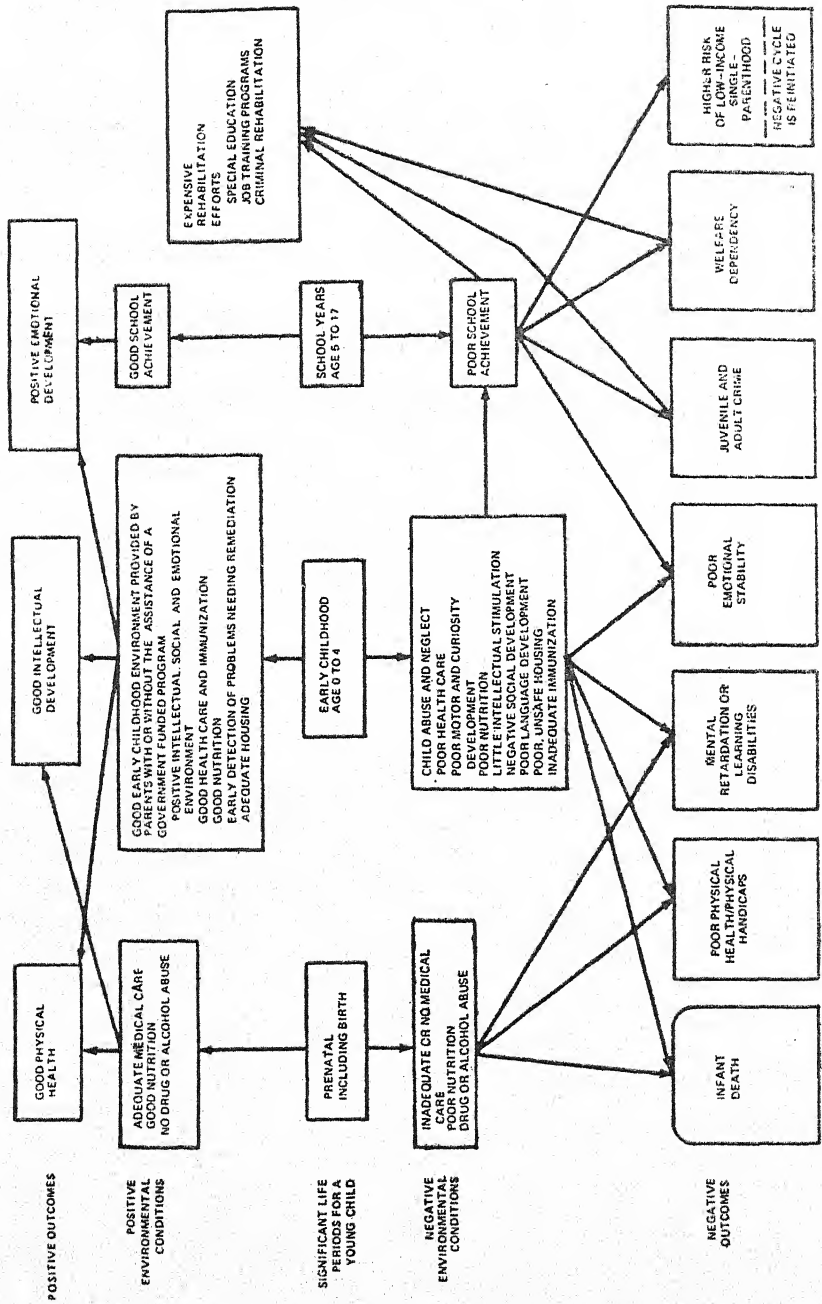
¹⁴Benjamin S. Bloom, *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, p. 88.

¹⁵Quoted in Early Childhood and Family Development Programs (1979), *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁶See Irving Lazar (1977) *op. cit.*, Jay Belsky and Laurence D. Steinberg (1978), *op. cit.*, and the Barnes-Dunlop report (1979), *op. cit.* The educational intervention may include parent or family involvement and education as possible strategies to increase the effectiveness of such efforts. See for example Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Is Early Intervention Effective?" in Marcia Guttentag and Elmer L. Struening (eds.), *Handbook of Evaluation Research*, Volume 2, Sage, 1975, p. 531.



SUMMARY OF THE EFFECTS OF PRE NATAL AND EARLY CHILDHOOD ENVIRONMENT ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT



to which the existence (or improvement) of the necessary conditions for early childhood development can be attributed to the government's intervention. In this context it seems that a comparison of the different conditions in the environment where children from low income grow, with the conditions under which children from high income families grow, may be instrumental for assessing availability and adequacy of the various government efforts. Such a comparison is very useful for purposes of policy making because it is not based on artificial assumptions. By comparing the most favourable conditions for child development as they exist for children from wealthy or average families, with the situation of children from low income families, policy makers can find out what can be achieved in the state under given circumstances. On the basis of this information, they can study different alternatives and decide what effort should be made to allow all the children to enjoy these favourable conditions.

Such a comparison may reduce the risk that inappropriate or artificial standards would be used in the policy making process. For example, such a risk may result from an indiscriminate reference to welfare indicators from wealthy or western countries by policy makers from poor or developing states.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE EVALUATION OF CHILDREN'S WELFARE

For purposes of policy analysis, the study of the state's efforts to influence the environment surrounding children raises two epistemological questions:

1. What is the proper unit for reference in order to assess the impact of the state's intervention?
2. What is the selection criterion by which to decide what policies (activities) to include in the assessment of public efforts to influence the welfare of children?

Each of these two questions deserves a lengthy discussion that is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, I would like to make a few remarks in the hope of contributing to and stimulating further discussion and research about them.

Much of the present discussion on the welfare of children entertains the implicit assumption that welfare must be defined by reference to the societal context. For example, where availability of day-care services is considered a measure of a child's welfare, the rationale for them is based on arguments about the societal benefits from a possible development of the child or the need (who's need?) to help families in distress.¹⁷ While these arguments should not be ignored, it is important to bear in mind that some of them have

¹⁷See for example Toward a National Policy (1976), *op. cit.*, p. 77.

to do more with the interests of social do-gooders, reformers, or even the selfish interests of parents, than with the true interests of the child and his objective welfare (if such one can be defined). The child's interest—as a child—cannot be defined as a function of the interests of somebody else. Even the individual's interests as an adult cannot be always used to define his best interests while he is still a child.

The uneasy task of finding out what is the genuine interest of the child—as a child—and the difficulty of dealing with the possible discrepancies between this interest and what others claim to be in his best interest is dodged in several ways. One way is the heavy emphasis of parental approval as an indication that the public effort is indeed in the best interest of the child, *e.g.*, parental support of day-care programmes is taken as a proof that a child's welfare is enhanced.¹⁸ Here the hidden assumption is that parental interest must be absolutely consistent with the best interests of their children. Unfortunately the literature does not provide enough evidence to support the claim that in all cases parents would compromise on their interests for the sake of the child's interest. This point can be illustrated by reference to the numerous cases where a child was denied certain medical treatment because such treatment was against the beliefs of his parents.¹⁹

Because of all these cases, parental approval or disapproval of public efforts cannot be used as a sole or primary indicator in the assessment of children's welfare. The use of a simple survey research or observations of parental attitudes cannot establish what the real motives behind parental support or opposition to different efforts by the state are. Therefore, the common practice to utilise this method in order to assess the welfare of children is misleading. However, parental attitudes should be considered as an important factor that may influence the political feasibility of different programmes and their ultimate impact. This point can be further illustrated by pointing to the numerous cases of disagreements between parents and teachers or school boards on certain parts of the curriculum (*e.g.*, sex education, evolution theory), the kind of school, or the location of the school a child should attend. All these disagreements are justified and rationalised by the claim to serve the best interest of a child. Yet, as we all know, the 'professional considerations' and the 'parental responsibilities' that each side requests to use in order to decide what is best for the child are not free from other interests of the parents or the school authorities and have little to do with the objective welfare of the child.

¹⁸The Comptroller General, for example, uses parental approval as an indication of programme quality. The Comptroller does not cite any methodological control for the possibility that parents used the desired social norms (or their image of it) as their reason for support of such programs. See *Early Childhood and Family Development Programs*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, 72.

¹⁹For a recent example see "Who Speaks for the Child," *Newsweek*, September 3, 1979, p. 49.



Another example of an attempt to diffuse the possible discrepancy between the child's true interest and the interests others have for him can be found in the call to make the family the relevant unit of study and the vehicle by which to influence children's welfare. This call dominates much of the recent writings in America. A case in point is a report titled 'All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure' 1977.²⁰ The report argues the case for government intervention for the sake of children's welfare. However, the proposed target is to influence the conditions of the *family*, not of the child's *home*. The use of the latter implies the need for a more comprehensive and complex approach, and it challenges the appropriateness of disciplinary (as opposed to inter-disciplinary) knowledge in the social sciences for policy making. The temptation to suggest the family as a focal unit for policy making results from traditional approaches to disciplinary research in the social sciences that take the family as a primary unit for study. Because of this influence, study of the web of interactions within the family; social forces outside of it and the influence of the physical surroundings as sources for a joint influence on the development of the child is still missing. To illustrate this point let me point out that even though all these factors influence the dynamics of the environment—where the child grows before he goes to a day-care centre and often he returns from it—most of the research on day-care does not control for them. Undoubtedly, the reference to the family as a focal concept offers a more compact concept for purposes of research and discussions than the concept of 'home'. However, the true interest of the child may be served better with the growth of our understanding and influence on those conditions that exist at the child's home as a more comprehensive frame of reference than the family. For example, in extreme cases we may conclude that the true interest of a child necessitates to provide him with a new home even though this may not be the optimal solution when the family is the unit of reference. The Advisory Committee on Child Development has treated this issue in a similar fashion. The Committee criticises the tendency to ignore broad institutional contexts or to define them as sociological givens, rather than as structural elements that can be modified.²¹

To summarise my comments on this point let me say that I suggest to use the 'home' as a basic unit for reference when assessing children's welfare. The home for that purpose is the total environment that surrounds the child in his native habitat.²² In different places this environment may include different components. For example, where the extended family live together, home includes the daily inter-actions between and within the various generations of

²⁰Kenneth Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children, *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure*, Brace and Jovanovich, New York and London, 1977.

²¹Toward a National Policy (1976), *op. cit.*, p. 100. Similar concern is expressed also in Belsky and Steinberg (1978), *op. cit.*, p. 930.

²²The Advisory Committee on Child Development speaks about "the actual environments in which children live and grow," cf. *Ibid.*, p. 102.



the family. For such inter-actions are an essential part of the environment that stimulates the child and influences his development. In other places, the home of a child from a single parent family may include the programmes that are available on the local television and the pattern of social life led by the single parent.

By reference to the home as the total environment where the child grows a meaningful measure of the availability of services involves a measure of adequacy. For, if the available services are not adequate for influencing the conglomerate situation under which the child develops, it is not possible to use them in order to assess the welfare of children. This brings up a few comments I would like to make concerning the relevant criteria for reference to different public policies as relevant efforts to influence the welfare of children.

The difficulty to assess public efforts to influence the welfare of children results from the fact that many of these efforts are not meant, initially or primarily, to have an effect in that area. One of the common examples is the case of subsidised day-care centres. While this effort may influence the welfare of children it may be a part of policies to get more housewives to make themselves available when demand exceeds supply in the labour market, as part of the policies to rehabilitate families²³ or as an attempt to create new jobs.

Many public policies influence the welfare of children indirectly and unintentionally. For example, policies that influence employment, housing, the sale of alcohol over the counter or prescription drugs, etc., influence eventually the conditions at the child's home and thus his welfare.

One of the possible criteria for selecting public policies for the evaluation of children's welfare has to do with the measurement of child abuse. If the trade offs between children's welfare and child abuse forms a zero sum situation, any measured increase in one indicates a decrease in the other. Hence, any public policy that influences any form of child abuse becomes a relevant policy for the assessment of public efforts to influence children's welfare. Local differences in defining child abuse or its different levels are likely to influence inclusion (or exclusion) of policies in this evaluation. However, since the values, traditions or customs that influence the definition of child abuse are likely to influence also the different definitions of children's welfare, this criterion seems to be a very promising one.

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²³See Dunlop (1978), *op. cit.*, pp. 29f and Early Childhood and Family Development Programs (1979), *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Children in England

Andrew Kakabadse

THIS YEAR has been designated the International Year of the Child. From a child's point of view how is that different to any other year? The answer is probably no different, but at least in the minds of adults, children have earned some, if not sufficient, respect in that they are viewed as human beings with their own needs and rights. It is not sufficient that their rights be acknowledged but further acted upon to improve their position in society.

When opening a newspaper or switching on the television, people in Britain are fairly regularly reminded that this is the International Year of the Child, and consequently, should give generously to a particular charity for children or some needy cause attempting to combat certain traumas some children are having to face. Although socially worthwhile, private donations for single problems are not the real bread and butter issues concerning the care of children in any country. The real issues centre around problems such as juvenile delinquency, the degree of state involvement in the family, the removal of children from family care into the care of the state, the adoption and fostering of children and the long term education and development of children. Each country has developed particular points of view, which are practised as services offered to the community; some services being mandatory and others at the discretion of public servants. This paper describes the present legal position of children in Britain and discusses the critical issues facing British society.

LEGAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN

Historically, common law had acknowledged the special status of children before the courts in two ways:

1. Those below the age of seven; these children were seen as incapable of forming criminal intent and hence could not be tried for a felony or misdemeanour.
2. Between the ages of seven and fourteen, by the doctrine of *doli incapax*, the onus was placed on the prosecution to prove that the child appreciated the wrongfulness of its behaviour.



Beyond these age groups, few concessions were made to children, either by way of procedure, or in the practice of sentencing for a crime. Children were liable to imprisonment, transportation to the colonies or hanging alongside their adult elders.

By the early 1800s the legal position of children was beginning to change with the introduction of the Factory Acts, which concentrated on improving working conditions for both minors and adults in the newly formed worker factories of the Industrial Revolution. From this activity came a slow and tenuous understanding that children are a group that have to be treated apart from other human beings. A century later, women came under similar scrutiny to determine their own rights in society; a process which all of us are currently experiencing. The understanding that children were a special group crystallised opinions into two important and distinct elements: (a) concerning physical abuse; and (b) concerning moral contamination.

Physical abuse was relatively easily dealt with in the 19th century by legal prescription and regulation of parents' and employers' treatment to children. Moral development and contamination, however, was and is, a far more difficult matter that has led, and is currently leading, to heated argument. On the positive side, laws were passed that enforced the child to be exposed to the 'wholesome' influences of education. On the negative side, a revulsion grew from the condition of unreformed prisons in which children were kept in custody, and the consequent influences upon their person. It was quite obvious that those children who benefited from education were not the same ones or came from the same social grouping as those who suffered prison sentences.

Consequently, the reform movement of the 19th century concentrated in two areas. First, providing residential social care of a better standard than that provided by the state. This comprised of free day schools for all children; day industrial schools for the neglected and residential reformatories for those criminally corrected. These last two provisions were to be financed partly by parental contribution. Second, attention was focused on the law, in order to reform the position of children in court. From 1847 onwards, the powers of the courts to send children to prison had been progressively eroded. Coupled with this was the realisation that children required their own courts. Public appearance in the dock could brand a child as a criminal let alone the influence that hardened criminals who were appearing on the same day may have had on that child. Hence the operation of the law itself was recognised as a contaminating influence.

Children's Act 1908

The combination of activity of developing suitable residential accommodation and attempting to reform the law, led to the Children's Act 1908 which introduced two fundamental departures from pre-existing criminal law. First, it introduced privacy by barring public access to juvenile proceedings.



Second, the thinking behind the age-base of criminal jurisdiction was altered in the context of which separate private and simplified hearings might apply. There was no move to raise the age of criminal responsibility from seven years old, but rather it sought to establish a period during which children would be shielded from the full consequences of what they had done even though they may have acted with criminal intent. The Act set the upper limit of protection from the full weight of the law for punishment to sixteen years of age. Even though a young offender may well have been subject to the criminal law, the nine years from seven to sixteen years of age can be identified as a form of moral and social quarantine.

Fundamentally, the 1908 Act was a substantial breakthrough. It gave impetus to the process which had first begun with the Factory Acts and converged the activities of reformers concentrating both on the law and social welfare. Under this Act, the courts emerged as a type of child welfare agency deciding on the best possible courses of action within the age structure set. Children were attributed special status in that their cases were not only held 'in camera'* but were also separated from adult criminals.

Children's Act 1933

The next major step forward came with the Children's Act 1933. The industrial schools and reformatory systems that had begun in the mid 1800s came under scrutiny and a report produced by the Parliamentary Committee on Young Offenders 1927 concluded that there was little or no difference in the character and needs of neglected and delinquent children. Some of the recommendations of the report were accepted in the Children's Act 1933. A new pattern of thinking emerged, that of 'children in trouble', and this new thinking remained virtually unchanged for the next forty years. Three distinct elements were offered under the Act, those of crime, care and truancy.

In terms of crime, juvenile court proceedings were separated physically from adult courts, or were time-tabled to avoid any possibility of overlap between the two clienteles. Special magistrates were chosen to man the juvenile panel; simplified procedures were adopted; the public were excluded from the room and the press forbidden to publish names. Even the words 'conviction' and 'sentence' were no longer to be used in relation to juvenile offenders. However the juvenile courts had most of the penalties of adult courts other than imprisonment. Probation officers were used extensively and troublesome children were committed to reformatories and later to approved schools. These were still managed by voluntary bodies which had created and maintained them from the 1830s onwards. Apart from the two basic differences of procedure and sentencing, juvenile courts were areas of criminal jurisdiction.

The attitudes taken towards child care and truancy were quite different to

* Legally 'in camera' means, in private.

those concerning juvenile offences. According to the 1933 Act, a child in need of care and protection is, 'one who having no parent or guardian or a parent or guardian unfit to exercise care and guardianship not exercising proper care and guardianship is either falling into bad associations, or exposed to moral danger or beyond control.' A further list specifies children who are the subject of sexual and/or violent offences or who have lived in households where these offences have been committed.

Due to the imprecise nature of the care definition, legal practice over the preceding years showed far fewer care proceedings and a far greater number of criminal cases being brought before the courts. Quite the opposite situation was developing in the U.S.A. Far more precise definitions of social care and guardianship were specified in America as opposed to the broader and more legalistic approach of the British. In the U.K. care proceedings were really successfully applied only in cases of children facing moral danger or physical abuse. Such situations were both sufficiently traumatic to the child and dramatic in terms of behaviour in the community to be able to quickly prove to the court the removal of the child from the home situation.

Children and Young Persons Act 1963

By the mid 1950s there was a growing concern in England that far more juvenile criminals and fewer care proceedings were being brought before the juvenile courts. The Ingleby Committee was appointed in October 1956, with wide terms of reference which allowed it to examine some of these contradictions. The Committee reported in 1960 and isolated the problem of inconsistent and ambiguous behaviour in jurisdiction. On the one hand, juvenile courts sat as courts of criminal jurisdiction, trying cases according to the rules of evidence, and on the other having due regard to the welfare of the child. The report begged the question as to how the two principles could be reconciled: criminal responsibility is focused on an allegation about some particular act isolated from the character and needs of the defendant, whereas welfare depends on complex personal, family and social considerations. The solution to the problem would have been to abolish criminal proceedings altogether and view offences as simply one additional ground for care proceedings. This, however, was not politically expedient and instead of advocating the abolition of juvenile criminal courts, it proposed the raising of the age of criminal responsibility to twelve years. In the event, the subsequent Children and Young Persons Act 1963 raised the age of responsibility to ten years of age, but did little to untangle the web between crime and care jurisdictions.

The most outstanding feature of the Act was its implementation of Ingleby's other main recommendations which authorised local authorities to undertake preventive work with families.

Developments in the 1960s

Despite the makeshift approach in the 1963 Act, the 1960s were a period



of considerable importance to child law. The Kilbrandon Committee, sitting since 1961, was considering the provision of the law of Scotland relating to the treatment of juvenile delinquents and juveniles in need of care or protection beyond parental control. In 1963, a similar committee was established under the chairmanship of Lord Longford to report under a similar brief to the Kilbrandon Committee, but concentrating solely in England and Wales. Kilbrandon reported first and recommended: (a) abolition of the criminal jurisdiction of juveniles and its replacement by lay appointed magistrates; (b) juvenile panels conducting juvenile hearings; and (c) social education department administered by local education authorities.

The object of these recommended changes was, through public action, to reduce and ideally eliminate the legal concept of delinquency. For Kilbrandon, criminal law was far too reactive in character based on evolved tradition, statute and character, whereas child care should be a far more proactive, ever changing, consciously constructed mechanism for achieving explicit social goals. The Longford Committee did not advocate such far reaching measures as Kilbrandon. The Committee had been established to examine the efficiency of the dissolution of the juvenile courts. It proposed to relieve this by raising the age of responsibility to sixteen and fusing the crime jurisdiction of the court into a new unified care scheme. But like its predecessors, the plan failed to achieve a neat boundary at the upper age limit where it met the adult court. In order to ease the abrupt transition from no responsibility to full responsibility, Longford thought it necessary to reintroduce the concept of moral quarantine to cater for the seventeen to twenty-one year olds in the youth courts.

In support of Longford, a White Paper appeared in 1965 entitled: 'The Child, The Family and the Young Offender'. The paper strongly argued that much delinquency, as indeed with most social problems, can be traced back to inadequacy or breakdown in the family. Consequently, one has to begin with the family. Due to the influence of the Longford Committee and the White Paper, a new concept was introduced, that of the family council, consisting of social workers already employed as child care officers in local authority children's departments and other persons selected for their understanding and experience with children. This was a more precise mechanism than that envisaged by Longford, where parents and social workers were to be encouraged to arrive at voluntary agreements outside existing institutional frameworks. Further, the 1965 White Paper advocated that in addition to the family councils, family courts should be established to replace juvenile courts.

Not unexpectedly, this stimulated substantial opposition from existing magistrates, police and probation officers. Consequently, a second White Paper appeared in 1968 entitled, 'Children in Trouble'. As a response to the opposition provoked by the previous White Paper, the recommendations offered in 1968 were far more conservative. Juvenile courts were to be retained



but to be used as a place of last resort. Cooperation between police and social workers was to be encouraged along with greater use of police cautions and liaison schemes. Specifically, below the age of ten only care proceedings based on care criteria were to be possible. From ten to thirteen years of age, children brought before a juvenile court should be accepted into care whenever possible. From thirteen to seventeen a complicated system of mandatory consultation between police and local authority social service departments, plus applications to an examining magistrate were to be introduced to ensure that only the most serious offenders were prosecuted and then after all other possible approaches had been tried.

The result of the two White Papers and the Longford recommendations was an unhappy compromise between the need for an adequate social definition of deprivation and delinquency and legal requirements to combat the criminal element. Despite this, it formed the basis of the Children and Young Person's Act 1969.

Children and Young Persons' Act 1969

The formal aims of the Act were:

1. To reduce a wide range of pre-existing child law into a single jurisdiction dealing in similar ways with children who commit offences, or stay away from home, or are in need of care and protection. The new supervision and care orders came into being as a means of emphasising and giving more attention to care proceedings and less to crime proceedings.
2. To promote greater cooperation amongst the agents involved by establishing procedures linking police and social service departments and permitting the latter to exert some influence over the choice of children to be brought to court.
3. To give additional powers to social service departments to play a larger part in treatments and to determine the meaning of court-made care orders according to their own interpretation of a child's needs.

As the 1969 Act is legislation currently practised, analysis of its effects in English society will be given later in this article, after describing the latest piece of legislation concerning child care law, that of the Children's Act 1975.

Children's Act 1975

This Act is probably the most important piece of child care legislation since the Children and Young Person's Act 1969, as it established beyond doubt the importance of fostering and adoption as forms of social treatment. A study in the early 1970s by Jane Rowe and Lydia Lambert entitled 'Children Who Wait' showed that approximately 2,000 children linger in long term care



because their parents refuse to consent to adoption. A further 5,000 children in long term care were thought to need something short of adoption, such as a secure fostering situation for which the law offered no provisions. This study added to the already well accumulated evidence concerning the harmful effects on some children of residential care. It indicated the need in the long term for good fostering placement or adoption where appropriate, as preferable forms of care to residential establishments. The changes brought in by the Act fall into three main areas:

1. Changes in law relating to adoption. Here the major change is that the Act places the onus on local authorities to ensure the provision of comprehensive adoption service either by themselves or in conjunction with approved adoption societies. The Secretary of State for Social Services becomes responsible for approving voluntary adoption societies. Further, the status and property rights of the adopted child are aligned closely with those of a legitimate child born into the family. As safeguards were introduced to protect the adopted child in his adopting family, similar safeguards were established to maintain the interests of foster parents who have parented a child for five years and have applied for its adoption. The natural parents will be restricted from removing the child from the foster parents until after a decision is reached at the hearing of the application to adopt.
2. The introduction of a new status midway between that of foster parents and adopter called 'custodianship'. Essentially, a custodian is some one who has legal custody of the child in his care. However, unlike adoption, custodianship is revocable and the court may make a custodian order when an adoption order has been applied for but the court feels that the former order is more appropriate.
3. The powers and obligations of local authorities in respect of children in care and children who are privately fostered were extended. Not only were local authorities given the right to assume parental rights and duties on behalf of voluntary organisations, but were given the power to investigate parents, as to their capacity for the care and development of the child, who intended to remove a child that had been in care for six months or more.

ASSESSING THE CURRENT SOCIAL SCENE

Having completed a brief history of child care law, the question to debate is what effect has this legislation had on British society? Further, are there new developments and needs not covered by law? In an attempt to answer the two questions, discussion will take place under two headings; the trends in juvenile delinquency and the trends in child abuse.



Delinquency

The trend seems to be that the numbers of juvenile offenders in care is gradually falling. Unfortunately, the decline in the use of the care order and supervision order has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the use of custodial sentences. The Tables 1-6 give an accurate and up to date account of the current situation in England.*

As can be seen from Table 1 (males of 10-13 years of age and males of 14-17 years of age, for both groups), the total number of those found guilty and the

TABLE 1 NUMBERS FOUND GUILTY IN THE JUVENILE COURT
COMPARED WITH THOSE CAUTIONED

<i>Year</i>	<i>Guilty</i>	<i>Cautioned</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Males 10-13 years			
1965	22,363	10,232	31.4
1966	21,365	11,222	34.2
1967	21,885	11,668	34.8
1968	22,018	13,435	37.9
1969	22,139	18,501	45.5
1970	21,401	21,816	50.5
1971	17,964	27,389	60.4
1972	19,269	33,029	63.2
1973	19,839	34,510	63.5
1974	22,947	39,315	63.1
1975	21,418	37,028	63.3
1976	20,071	34,932	63.5
1977	20,929	42,154	66.7
Males 14-17 years			
1965	32,052	5,966	15.7
1966	32,154	6,459	16.7
1967	31,970	6,542	17.0
1968	34,253	7,621	18.2
1969	41,691	11,956	22.3
1970	43,789	14,317	24.6
1971	42,977	20,160	31.9
1972	48,593	23,806	32.9
1973	50,871	25,728	33.6
1974	59,725	31,169	34.3
1975	58,901	30,237	33.9
1976	59,514	28,480	32.4
1977	62,639	32,901	34.4

NOTE: Per cent figure is those cautioned as per cent of all those found guilty or cautioned.
All figures pertain to indictable offences.

1969 CYPA came into effect in 1971.

CYPA is an abbreviation for the Children and Young Persons Act.

*These figures were researched and compiled by John Poley and his colleagues at Lancaster University, Department of Social Administration.



total number cautioned by the juvenile courts have both increased in number for the years 1965 to 1977 (especially for the male group of ages 14-17 years). A very similar picture is shown in Table 2, indicating the position of females found guilty and cautioned in juvenile courts. Although the total number of those found guilty is far less than the males, there has been a substantial increase in the total numbers especially for the age group 14-17 years. Tables 3 and 4 indicate the trends for males of age groups 10-13 and 14-17 years who are found guilty of indictable offences.

For both groups, the use of care and supervision orders has become less popular. In the 10-13 age group, the numbers fined, bound over during

TABLE 2 NUMBERS FOUND GUILTY IN THE JUVENILE COURT
COMPARED WITH THOSE CAUTIONED (FEMALES)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Guilty</i>	<i>Cautioned</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Females, 10-13 years			
1965	2,697	2,227	45
1966	2,467	2,385	49
1967	2,554	2,403	48
1968	2,503	2,745	52
1969	2,535	3,715	59
1970	2,460	4,848	66
1971	1,712	6,683	80
1972	1,848	8,877	83
1973	1,947	9,762	83
1974	2,359	11,939	84
1975	2,374	11,724	83
1976	2,412	10,541	81
1977	2,517	14,193	85
Females, 14-17 years			
1965	4,928	1,665	25
1966	5,011	1,942	28
1967	4,574	1,535	25
1968	4,646	1,958	30
1969	4,876	2,835	37
1970	5,262	3,505	40
1971	5,035	5,668	53
1972	4,989	6,996	58
1973	5,195	7,331	59
1974	6,590	9,189	58
1975	7,054	9,318	57
1976	7,305	8,900	55
1977	7,722	10,680	58

NOTE: Per cent figure is those cautioned as per cent of all those found guilty or cautioned.

All figures pertain to indictable offences.

1969 CYPA came into effect in 1971.



a period of conditional discharge, and involvement with attendance centres, have increased.* Table 4 indicates that a similar trend applied to the 14-17 age group; that of reduced use of care orders, supervision orders and probation and increases in conditional discharges and involvement with attendance centres, detention centres and Borstal.† Table 5 and 6, representing females of age groups 10-13 and 14-17 years, indicate similar trends, but with a less dramatic increase in conditional discharge and Borstal residential training.

Current opinion amongst social workers, social theorists and social administrators, is that the Children and Young Persons' Act 1969 has not worked (Thorpe 1976; Poley and Green 1979; Priestley, Fears and Fuller 1977). Fundamentally, the essence of the problem is that which has bedevilled child care legislation since the late 19th century, namely, the difference between treatment and punishment. Whether children are introduced to treatment or punishment for an offence committed, the stigma of criminality remains.

TABLE 3 DISPOSALS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THOSE FOUND GUILTY OF INDICTABLE OFFENCES
(Males 10-13 years)

Year	<i>Fit Person and Probation Approved School</i>		<i>Fine</i>	<i>Conditional Discharge</i>	<i>Attendance Centre</i>
1965	8.5	33.0	17.8	26.4	9.8
1966	8.9	32.0	19.5	24.7	10.6
1967	8.8	30.4	18.7	28.0	10.6
1968	9.0	29.3	17.7	28.5	11.7
1969	9.4	31.4	18.2	27.2	11.6
1970	10.1	28.1	18.6	27.3	12.7
	<i>Care Order</i>	<i>Supervision</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Conditional Discharge</i>	<i>Attendance Centre</i>
1971	12.6	28.4	19.3	25.1	12.2
1972	11.6	25.7	20.6	26.9	12.7
1973	11.8	25.1	22.2	26.4	12.3
1974	12.0	23.9	21.8	28.5	12.0
1975	11.7	22.7	21.0	30.1	12.5
1976	10.9	21.4	21.4	31.0	13.9
1977	9.4	21.1	22.2	32.5	13.2

*A conditional discharge has become a popular option of sentencing offenders in both juvenile and adult courts. The defendant is found guilty but is discharged from the court on condition that he is not found guilty by court for that or another offence, during a stipulated time period. If, however, he/she is found guilty during that period, then both offences will be taken into account for the purposes of sentencing.

† Attendance centres and detention centres were created to provide for intermediate treatment which consists of organising small group projects in which young offenders become actively involved. The idea is borrowed from youth work and the intention is that through providing activities, education and counselling, a sense of social responsibility to oneself and others is generated amongst the group members.



TABLE 4 DECISIONS IN JUVENILE COURTS, 1965-1977, AS A
PERCENTAGE OF ALL THOSE FOUND GUILTY OF AN
INDICTABLE OFFENCES
(boys, aged 14-17 years)

Year	<i>Fit Person and Approved School</i>	<i>Probation</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Condi- tional D.</i>	<i>Attend- dance C.</i>	<i>Deten- tion C.</i>	<i>Borstal</i>
1965	8.3	28.5	31.1	18.1	7.1	2.4	1.5
1966	8.6	27.3	33.3	16.6	7.5	2.3	1.8
1967	8.0	26.6	33.3	18.6	6.9	2.4	1.8
1968	7.6	25.6	31.8	19.9	7.6	3.1	1.9
1969	7.2	23.6	36.4	18.3	6.8	3.3	2.0
1970	8.0	21.8	37.9	17.1	7.3	3.5	2.4
	<i>Care Orders</i>	<i>Super- vision</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Condi- tional D.</i>	<i>Attend- dance C.</i>	<i>Deten- tion C.</i>	<i>Borstal</i>
1971	7.9	19.4	39.8	17.0	7.5	3.3	3.1
1972	6.7	17.0	42.4	17.2	7.6	3.8	3.3
1973	6.8	17.3	40.9	17.3	7.9	4.6	3.4
1974	6.1	17.2	40.3	18.0	8.7	5.0	3.1
1975	5.9	16.0	39.4	18.5	8.9	6.1	3.8
1976	4.8	15.3	38.1	19.4	9.6	7.3	3.9
1975	4.2	15.0	39.1	19.8	10.2	7.3	3.3

Second, little ideological, conceptual and/or practical research and development has examined the question of whether treatment or punishment has anything to do with offending as such. Whether referred for treatment or punishment, the majority of applicants before a juvenile court come from poorer working class background. Those of middle class background attending good schools manage to avoid appearance in the juvenile court as both the family and the school can deal with the routine delinquencies that occur. However, for those of the poorer working class background, when their treatment and/or punishment is over, they return to their previous community environment. Consequently, pressure is placed on the child to repeat similar delinquent behaviour and to once more re-affirm the old social values of their background and community.

Third, the expected cooperation between social workers and the police has simply not occurred. The police are trained towards preparing evidence for well-constructed prosecutions and the processing of juvenile cases is a task which absorbs only a small percentage of their total time. Due to the differences of expectations and the ensuing lack of communication between social workers and the police, a climate of hostility, mistrust and definite lack of cooperation has developed. Due to this non-cooperation between the police and social workers two different procedures have been adopted for the presentation of cases in juvenile courts, that of referral to a residential



TABLE 5 DISPOSALS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THOSE FOUND GUILTY OF
INDICTABLE OFFENCES
(Females 10-13 years)

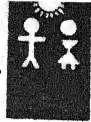
<i>Year</i>	<i>Fit Person and Approved School</i>	<i>Probation</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Conditional D.</i>
1965	(5.7)	35.6	24.0	30.7
1966	(6.1)	34.7	26.1	29.3
1967	(5.8)	31.8	24.7	33.7
1968	(6.7)	34.8	20.9	33.9
1969	(7.1)	32.4	21.4	34.8
1970	(7.8)	30.0	25.7	33.5

	<i>Care Order</i>	<i>Supervision Order</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Conditional D.</i>
1971	9.8	31.6	24.2	31.4
1972	9.9	34.6	23.3	29.5
1973	10.9	30.3	26.1	29.8
1974	10.9	32.3	21.8	33.0
1975	12.4	30.4	21.2	34.0
1976	9.2	26.6	23.7	38.8
1977	9.6	26.4	25.0	37.2

TABLE 6 DISPOSALS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THOSE FOUND GUILTY
OF INDICTABLE OFFENCES
(Females 14-17 years)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Fit Person and Approved School</i>	<i>Probation Order</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Conditional D.</i>	<i>Borstal</i>
1965	(4.9)	34.0	34.6	23.9	0.1
1966	(6.0)	34.5	34.3	22.6	0.3
1967	(6.9)	34.1	31.5	24.4	0.2
1968	(6.3)	32.3	32.2	26.0	0.3
1969	(6.7)	32.1	33.0	25.6	0.3
1970	(7.4)	29.3	34.2	26.2	0.3

	<i>Care Order</i>	<i>Supervision Order</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Conditional D.</i>	<i>Borstal</i>
1971	9.1	26.7	34.7	25.6	0.8
1972	9.4	26.2	37.0	23.9	0.8
1973	10.6	26.6	34.8	24.5	0.9
1974	8.9	25.6	36.4	26.0	1.2
1975	9.8	25.6	33.0	28.0	1.6
1976	9.0	23.1	35.8	29.0	1.6
1977	8.1	23.0	36.9	28.8	1.6



establishment and that of supervisory orders. From the point of view of the juvenile court, it is certainly far easier to refer a child to a residential establishment than to social care for treatment, and as the statistics indicate this practice is increasing.

Child Abuse

The abuse of children has been of particular social and political concern in Britain over the last decade and a half. Attention has increased especially over recent cases of child battering leading to the deaths of certain infants. Although such cases have attracted considerable vigilance from the media (Sherer 1979), the only conclusion that seems to have been reached is that the social services departments were to blame for professional misconduct on the part of social workers and their immediate superiors.

A closer look at the evidence, however, indicates certain trends. In the city of Leeds, for example, between the years of 1969-1973, 117 children were detected with non-accidental injuries, and a considerable proportion of these had serious injuries to the eyes and brain (Morran 1979). In contrast, the Leeds figures for 1974-1978 showed 196 children with non-accidental injury. The number of cases certainly increased but there has been a decrease in the number of serious cases with a fall in the number of fractures or injuries to the eyes or brain. This trend of an increase in the incidence of non-accidental injury to children, but of a less serious nature, seems to be nationwide. A number of reasons are offered as explanation for the trend. The increase in the numbers of battered children is probably not because the total number of batterings has increased, but because more are being discovered, particularly those with relatively minor injuries, of the kind which previously went undetected. Also, the number of serious cases seems to have decreased probably because of the number of government agencies involved in family care, such as doctors, social workers, community nurses, voluntary agency social workers and NSPCC* inspectors.

Child abuse is a sensitive issue in Britain. Anxiety on the part of the helping agencies to prevent any knowledge of child abuse becoming public, in order to prevent the public scapegoating that has happened in the past, has led to an increase in the general awareness of the possibility of non-accidental injury. This in turn has stimulated greater cooperation and increased efficiency of medical and social investigation and thereby increased the skill in predicting the possibility of future abuse. It seems that the very few deaths of infants that occur due to child abuse has stimulated substantial activity in the detection and prevention of child battering.

SUMMARY

This paper is a description; a description of what has happened in the

* NSPCC stands for the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.



Andrew Kakabadse

past in England and Wales and a description of what is happening now as far as it is possible to assess the influences current in one's own society. One thing is singularly clear: considerable attention has been focussed on child abuse and immoral conduct towards children. The helping agencies pride themselves in being able to detect, isolate and treat cases of children in moral or physical danger. Yet the question of delinquency and criminality goes by unresolved. Is it a question of punishment and retribution in response to acts of wrong doing, or is it a question of social treatment and if that is the case what does social treatment mean? English social development has been bounded by an inability to solve the problem of delinquency or social neglect and yet has prided itself in trying to improve the 'moral' position of the child. Not that these are the only problems facing the care of children in England and Wales. Since the Second World War, a steady stream of immigrants from Europe, Africa, the West Indies and Asia, have entered the country. Surprisingly very little is known about the problems facing immigrant populations in their adjustment to their host country. Apart from those offering racist arguments who would only use information for deprecatory purposes, it is only recently that certain trends have come to public light. For example, a high incidence of truancy was reported amongst children of Cypriot families. It has only recently been understood that the majority of children stay at home to assist their parents in their shop, restaurant or small business. Traditionally, Cypriots have generated their income from the use of children as assistants with a view to the children inheriting the business, has been a strong force in the dynamics of the family. For Cypriots, education takes place at home but for some time this was misinterpreted as neglecting the child's future on the part of the parents.

Even less is known about Asian families and their problems and needs. There are relatively few cases of reported delinquencies amongst Asians (especially if compared to the number of West Indian young offenders), and of these the majority of cases are burglaries. A very involved study by Batta, McCulloch and Smith 1975, could offer no meaningful explanation as to why burglary is a recurring offence for young Asians.

It is a truism that the treatment of children is culture bound and will vary from country to country. What may be recognised as child abuse in one sovereign state may well go undetected in another. Most certainly the economic and social expectations of the populace, their religious convictions and life 'mores' combine to form the social patterns, social reforms and the unresolved traumas of that society. I have described how British society has dealt with its children in the past and in the present. What impression this makes on people from other societies, I await your response.



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Children in Latin America and the Caribbean*

Juan Pablo Terra

IN THE 25 years between 1950 and 1975 the population of Latin America doubled, maintaining the highest growth rate among the large regions of the world (2.8 per cent annually). The process has varied considerably, however, from one part of the continent to another. In the Caribbean and in the Southern Cone it grew by only 50 per cent. The increases by countries have varied from 30 per cent in Uruguay to 146 per cent in Venezuela. Among the larger countries, Argentina increased 48 per cent, Brazil 107 per cent and Mexico 123 per cent. All generalisations, therefore, must be made with reserve.

The accelerated growth of Latin America was affected by a persistently high fertility rate, even though in the last decade it had begun to decline, falling from 5.8 to 5.0. With the increasing size of the generations reaching the child bearing age, the number of births has continued to grow, rising from 7 million per year in the period 1950-55 to 12 million at the present time.

The accelerated growth of the Latin American population is due, at the same time, to the low mortality rate. For the region as a whole it has dropped from almost 15 per thousand in 1950 to 8.5 per thousand, and continues to decrease. In this respect also there are very great differences, ranging from 5.3 per thousand in Costa Rica to 16 per thousand in Bolivia. Some countries have attained extremely low mortality rates because of their predominantly young age structures, and it is to be expected, therefore, that they will rise again as the population grows older. The fall in the death rate has not only been greater than that of the birth rate in absolute terms (and of course in relative terms), but it has also been more regular. Practically all the countries that had high rates have made significant progress and have frequently reduced them to half since 1950. It has been the countries with a low death rate and a relatively ageing population that have found difficulty in continuing to reduce it.

The population of Latin America is decidedly young. In 1950-55 the 0-14 age group represented 41 per cent of the total population. After that date it

*An abridged version of the paper presented at the special UNESCO meeting on the subject, held in Mexico City, Mexico, May 1979.



increased slightly and during the present five-year period it has returned to 41 per cent. It is thought that by the end of the century it will drop to 38 per cent, which means that the population will still be very young.

The differences between countries are striking. The percentage of the 0-14 age group varies from 48 per cent to 27 per cent. By the end of the century, at least three countries might reduce this percentage to 26 per cent, while eight could remain above 40 per cent. A very pronounced decrease could occur in the Caribbean, with a drop from 38 per cent to 29 per cent.

The proportion of people aged over 64 in Latin America is expected to rise only from 4 per cent to 4.5 per cent, and in the Caribbean from 6 per cent to 7 per cent. Once again only Argentina and Uruguay have high proportions of old people, which may well exceed 10 per cent by the end of the century.

Because of this young age structure, the figures for children are very high. By 1980 the 0-14 age group in Latin America will reach 147 million. There will be 12 million under 1 year of age, 33 million from 1 to 3 years, 21 million from 4 to 5 and 64 million school children from 6 to 12 years of age. The figures by countries are given in Table 1 (p. 266). By the end of the century the total of the 0-14 age group will increase to 226 million.

With the addition of the Caribbean, which will reduce to some extent the proportion of the child population, the figures will rise from 150 to 230 million children between 0 and 14 years of age.

A striking feature of the Latin American population is the increasing rate of urbanisation, despite the fact that the process is already very advanced. In 1975, 61 per cent of the population was urban and it is thought that the proportion will rise to 75 per cent by the end of the century. Between 1970 and 1975 the urban population grew at an annual rate of 4.8 per cent, while the rural population grew at a rate of 1.3 per cent and the total at a rate of 2.8 per cent.

The situation differs from country to country but the trends towards rapid urbanisation have few exceptions. The proportions of urban population, apart from the special cases of Haiti (23 per cent), range from 37 to 85 per cent. The growth rates of the urban population are low only in countries of slow growth and already very urbanised. In the remainder they vary between 4 per cent and 8 per cent annually.

THE SUBMERGED CATEGORY

Within the overall situation of the region it is important to establish where the greatest concentrations of the most seriously deprived children are to be found. These children and their families are known as the 'submerged categories'. The analysis shows that in some cases it is a question of groups forming compact social units localised in specific parts of the country, as in the case of indigenous communities or marginal districts. However, in other

cases it is simply a matter of categories comprising individuals or families with certain common problems, but dispersed throughout the social structure and the territory. Several of these categories overlap, having a joint impact on the same people.

Poverty

One of these categories is poverty. The gravest problems affecting children, both in their biological and psycho-social aspects are connected with poverty. This statement might be considered as useless repetition, since the concept of poverty signifies the lack of basic needs. Since poverty, however, applies to the family as a whole, which is the social unit where the most essential goods are shared, and since for practical reasons the main features of poverty are defined in relation to income (income per capita or per unit of consumption in the family) the connection between the two realities must be made clear.

The distribution of poverty is very unequal. In nine countries studied the proportion of poor people varies from 8 per cent of the total population in Argentina to 65 per cent in Honduras. In most cases it comprises between a quarter and half of the population. Sixty per cent of the poor live in rural areas, although the rural population is less numerous than the urban. The poorer the families, the larger they tend to be, with a low ratio of economically active members, an unusually high proportion of women at the head and 55 per cent of children under 15 years of age. Work is the sole source of income. Unemployment is greater than normal although most of the heads of families work. Irregular work is common and the low remuneration accounts for more than 50 per cent of the poverty. The educational level of the heads of these families is very low, and school dropouts are frequent among the children. Marriages are early and to a great extent consensual.

The poor are found in very varied sectors of economic activity and are distributed among wage-earners, small farmers, artisans, self-employed workers and the retired. As regards residence, although there are large concentrations of poor people in both town and country, dispersion is also prevalent.

The Problem Family

The foregoing shows that certain characteristics of the family are frequently linked with poverty and increase it; for example, the high proportion of children, the absence of the father, the low ratio of economically active members. Indeed, it is not easy to distinguish the cause from the effect.

To appreciate the plight of the children it is essential to understand how the structure of the family and the various roles within it interact with the class situation and the material conditions of nutrition, health, housing, culture, work and income of its members. Some types of family create serious biological or psycho-social problems for the children. Hardships for children tend to result from: early and unstable unions; the absence of the father; the



mother working away from home without adequate arrangements or replacements; the excessive number of children in relation to health and resources; the promiscuity and overcrowding in the homes; the conflictive relationships; authoritarianism and *machismo*; the premature employment of the children, and also the traumatic situations of the families of migrants, displaced persons, convicts and refugees. There are, therefore, types of families where the problems of the children are cumulative. In some cases they result in the abandonment of the child. A typology of the problem family, the family of high risk for the child, would be an excellent instrument for the diagnosis and treatment of the situation of children.

The Relegated Groups

The child problem arises among the relegated categories, which are often physically and socially dispersed. It also occurs, however, within certain types of social groups that are physically united and socially organised. Three types will be mentioned because of their importance and prevalence in Latin America.

Groups of Inhabitants in Urban Marginal Districts

Although in some cases the residents of the marginal districts include workers and employees of firms in the formal sector of industry, construction and commerce, under pressure of transport difficulties, land prices and low wages, their presence is usually transitory, either because they soon look for another place to live, or because their capacity gradually transforms the area. Even in these cases, the deficiencies of the environment and the services and the economic difficulties connected with the family cycle are very costly in human terms for the children.

The most typical inhabitants of these districts, however, are the workers in the 'informal sector': wage-earners in sporadic occupations and workers on their own account. The men are employed in personal services and construction, the women in domestic services and personal services. The wages are low and irregular and even the children have to help to supplement them. This induces them to leave school early and to take up the occupations of their parents. The families are large in relation to the rest of the city, although it is usual to find that birth control is now making itself felt in this medium. Censensual union is frequent, as also are families with women at the head and the sporadic or changing presence of the father figure. The instability of the union is often linked with the alcoholism of the father. The effects of all these conditions on the children in respect of nutrition, health and education are very serious and it is not infrequent for them to abandon their homes.

Rural Communities

The transformation of the rural areas in Latin America is not only evidenced by the fact that the surplus growth of population, not finding



employment, has to migrate. The introduction of large modern enterprises technically equipped and the development of commerce gradually destroy the traditional subsistence agriculture in many places, although for a time both systems co-exist. The old system, in which the premature labour of the children and the sacrifice of their future opportunities represented a forced self-exploitation, subsists alongside processes in which the children have to suffer the effects of uprooting, migration, changes in the rules of conduct, disruption of the family and adaptation to urban life through a long period of marginality.

Among those who remain on the land there are many types of families: reference is made here only to the small agricultural producer and to the plantation wage earner. The small producer, with land limited to his subsistence level and little or no technology, shows a productivity which is little more than partial unemployment in disguise. He alternates his activity with paid labour. His sons work as day-labourers. When they marry they return to their father's home or migrate. The daughters generally leave home to work as domestic servants in the cities.

The scarcity of land and the vicissitudes of agriculture cause them varying degrees of privation. The sons have to help from an early age. Lacking incentive and cultural support, they are habitually school repeaters and dropouts. Fertility is high, and the women, who take part in the labours of production in addition to their domestic tasks, are heavily overburdened with work.

The privations in respect of environment and services have already been mentioned. Food is deficient in quality and sometimes in quantity. But the family is stable. The burden of members economically inactive is often great owing to the migration of those who are at working age. The family group, however, operates as an instrument of solidarity, which is broken by migration. The migrant does not find instruments of social solidarity to take its place.

The seasonal wage-earner in the plantation sector is a landless labourer without any permanent attachment to an estate. He lives outside the productive establishments in small villages or at the side of the roads. He does not produce enough for his own use. His home is seriously lacking in basic necessities. The earning of an irregular wage demands long absences on the part of the man. The woman in the meantime becomes the head of the family and has to supply or supplement income with tasks inside or outside the home, which also represent a crushing burden. Material and especially nutritional conditions tend to be worse than in the family of the small farmer. The instability of the union, the very large number of children, and the tendency of these to go to work prematurely or to migrate only serve to aggravate the effects.

Indigenous Communities

Three types of indigenous population must be distinguished: the traditional agricultural community, the indigenous inhabitant of urban marginal districts



and the indigenous tribes.

In the first two cases the indigenous condition is superimposed on other conditions already analysed and in a sense brings the further problem of a conflict of cultures.

In the case of the indigenous city-dweller, especially in the first years of migration to the city, the conflict of cultures is at its most intense. In the marginal districts he seeks relationship and neighbourliness with people of his own kind, thus creating ties of solidarity and helping to preserve the language and other forms of culture. But if this helps him to maintain his identity, it intensifies the causes of social and occupational segregation that accentuate his urban marginality. The children experience the conflict from their school days, where it seriously limits their possibilities of education. Sooner or later the indigenous youth is faced with the option of rejecting his culture and adopting the ways of the mass of society or of making a stand against them and defending his identity. Both options involve conflict and neither eliminates segregation.

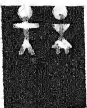
The indigenous family in a rural community has many local peculiarities. In general, productivity is minimal through shortage of land. The produce is destined mainly for personal consumption. The habitat is rudimentary and the natural environment is frequently hostile. The women do housework, craftwork and rural tasks, which implies a very heavy burden. The children from the age of four to six assume tasks such as shepherding, domestic work, the care of younger brothers, the fetching of water, etc. Added to the language problem and the defects of the school service, this contributes to their very low level of education. Considering that the shortage of land drives them to migrate, this inadequate cultural preparation has very serious consequences. Health services are scarce and traditional forms of medicine persist.

Marriages are early, especially for women. Breast-feeding is generally prolonged, partly as a defence against nutritional and environmental deficiencies, but this defence is inadequate and creates problems when the pregnancies are frequent. The families are very stable and have a large number of children.

The indigenous tribes, which form nomadic or semi-nomadic communities dedicated to hunting, fishing and cropping in the forest zones, are now very few in number. Their lack of sanitary and educational services is almost total. As they do not integrate with the mass of society they are progressively rejected and driven from their territories, especially from the banks of rivers, which are the routes of communication in the forest. This forces them into inhospitable or already occupied territory. Conflicts with white people and inter-tribal battles, added to a deterioration in food conditions, threaten these groups with total extinction.

POLICIES AND SERVICES

In the decade of the 1960s the countries of Latin America adopted



ambitious goals of economic growth. On average they achieved them. Nevertheless the gaps between them and the more developed countries continued to widen. Growth itself left basic problems unresolved, such as unemployment, the unequal distribution of income, the marginalization of large sectors of the population, and poverty. Among these will be found most of the problems affecting children.

After this experience the concept of development became more complex. Emphasis was placed on the fact that social progress is not an automatic result of economic growth. The countries of Latin America and the Caribbean endorsed the United Nations Strategy for the Second Development Decade, associating themselves with a united approach to the subject, which combined social and economic objectives on equal terms in the interests of the quality of human life.

From the very beginning the project of development in Latin America was linked with the planning instrument. In the 1960s all the countries had created their planning agencies. The plans, elaborate documents which raised the level of information and discussion, rarely came to be the tools of planned development processes. In many cases they remained foreign elements within the traditional political and administrative machinery.

Even at that time some social sectors, such as housing, health and education, had been incorporated into planning. Within the unified concept of development social planning had necessarily to be amplified. In the present decade several countries have embarked on new aspects such as regional development, integrated rural development, underemployment, food and nutrition and, in relation to certain aspects, the problems concerning children. With international cooperation, methodologies and training of personnel for social planning have been improved. In the subregional integration agencies there has been an advance in the approach to social problems: common planning and strategies in Central America; agreements on education, health and labour in the Andean Pact. Within countries institutions have been established in many territorial subdivisions. In the region as a whole government representatives have met every two years to assess development and have continued to cooperate in other fields such as health.

These advances have not been uniform, nor have they always been in the same direction. Worldwide inflation, the price of oil and the recession have compelled many countries to revise their strategies in economic circumstances of some gravity. In addition to this, however, internal orientations have suffered profound changes. Conflicting views have arisen on the role of the state and the machinery of development, and also on objectives such as the distribution of income, the redistribution of land or the control of social and cultural life. In consequence, planning has suffered changes and in some cases reverses.

Paradoxically, in Latin America these changes have not involved a loss of influence on the part of the state. Even in the countries where it was decided



to entrust a great part of the work to private enterprise and the market, new and even more energetic forms of state intervention have been necessary in social life and in the distribution of income in order to create the appropriate conditions.

As a result, the role of public policies continues to be in one way or another pre-eminent. Responsibility for the conduct of the process obviously rests with the governments. The application of a unified approach to development will continue to be inseparable from a vigorous set of public policies in the social field and some system for planning them.

Planning and Policies for Children

The sectoral approach to planning, by no means flexible during the 1960s, obstructed an integral attack on the problems affecting children. Action was generally uncoordinated in the fields of health and education and to some extent also in the case of housing and social security. The services, too, were on the whole sectoral; only in their best examples, such as maternal and child welfare, schooling and housing programmes, was there an attempt to analyse the causes and seek solutions beyond the scope of their speciality.

Already at the start of this decade it had been accepted in principle that it was necessary to confront the child situation in an integrated form, taking into account as a whole and in their several relationships: deficiencies in respect to food and nutrition, health, education, family unit, housing and environmental hygiene; problems of income from production and employment; and considerations of land tenure and population. It had also been agreed that coherent policies were needed not only to alleviate the symptoms but also to eradicate the causes.

In the course of the 1970s there has been an increase in the formation of integrated services in specific areas affected by serious problems. At first there was an attempt to integrate formal services. Later it was decided to create basic services for children, with the active participation of the community, and the utilisation of local resources and personnel having elementary and secondary schooling. This solution permits a substantial increase in coverage in relation to resources and a more flexible adaptation to local needs. Undoubtedly there are problems in connection with interagency cooperation. Some derive from the different coverages, others from the instability of solutions subject to several authorities. In general better results have been achieved in the execution of limited projects such as the construction of the building and its equipment rather than in the continued operations of the service which requires administrative coordination and a permanent budget. It is undeniable that these instruments could help to bring about a substantial improvement in the conditions of children in the region, but to achieve this it is essential to surmount the stage of limited experiments and to adopt overall strategies for children, the need for which is deeply felt.

With regard to the so-called submerged categories, it must be pointed out



that they should be the object of special study and consideration within the scope of the strategies and policies. Among these the groups of marginal urban settlers, the rural communities and above all the indigenous groups are not only in a particularly tragic situation but also, as they live in groups and to some extent segregated from the rest of society, make very direct and specific action possible. The dispersed categories, however, should not be forgotten.

Food and Nutrition Policies

Policy orientations in the past were focused on certain aspects, following scientific developments. During the first half of the present century, interest in nutrition was centred on the problem of avitaminosis. Once its causes were known, special treatments were introduced to control it.

Around 1950 the governments and international organisations turned their attention to protein-calorie malnutrition. The most serious conditions became the chief objects of study, namely, kwashiorkor and marasmus. Towards 1955 there was increasing concern over protein deficiency and the foods able to compensate it, an interest which continued into the 1960s when attempts were made to identify the high-risk groups suffering from these deficiencies. Special consideration was given to pre-school children, the state of nutrition during pregnancy and breast-feeding, and the relation between infection and nutrition.

In recent years emphasis has been placed on calorie-deficiencies. Currently it can be concluded that the major part of the population is able to cover its protein needs because their energy requirements are provided from cereals and legumes. The same does not hold true in countries or regions where the staple food is tubers and roots which provide little protein.

The concern for nutritional problems in the 1950s gave rise to a fund of information gathered from surveys and to the implementation of supplementary feeding programmes mainly with milk. The production and supply of food products was always a matter of concern, especially since planning was introduced, because of its intrinsic importance and its impact on prices and foreign trade. From the food and nutritional standpoint, however, the approach was often weak and paid little attention to distribution and accessibility, the basic problems of the submerged categories. In the same period of the 1960s there was a boom in programmes concerned with the enrichment of basic products, such as cereals, milk, salt or oil, by addition of vitamins, minerals, proteins and aminoacids. Subsequent assessments showed that these products had had little effect, as they had not reached the low-income groups. Given to pre-school children, school children, pregnant and breast-feeding mothers, they had a salutary effect as long as the treatment lasted, but as there was no change in the family conditions the effect tended to be lost afterwards. Moreover, there was little chance of its penetrating the rural areas. One of the most interesting experiments was that of the applied nutrition programmes,



which combined educational and practical activities in the fields of health, education and agricultural production. This may be considered the first attempt at a multicausal approach.

The new approaches and the food crisis of 1972 stimulated initiative. There has been an improvement in the knowledge and level of academic centres. The institutional network in the region has been strengthened to promote the formulation and execution of national food and nutrition policies, while the number of institutions in the countries has increased and some successful national projects have been developed. The new orientations embrace the whole of the 'food and nutrition system': production, foreign trade, the food industry, marketing, demand with all the factors that influence it, consumption and the biological utilisation of food, with a view to devising policies to confront all bottlenecks. The measures relating to children have their place within the framework of a global strategy.

Health Policies and Services

Health policies directed to mothers and children in Latin America have undergone successive modifications in concept and practice. After the more or less vertical approach that characterised the services and programmes of maternal and child welfare (with emphasis on the supervision of growth, feeding, immunisation, and education in basic child care), there was a preliminary phase when preventive and curative measures were incorporated into these services, after which they were finally included in the general health services.

Recent years have brought a clearer perception of the family as a biopscho-social unit, endowed with its own readjustment mechanisms for functioning in adverse circumstances. This has given prominence to the concept of family health and thence to the identification of the family as a unit for health care.

The central problem today is the coverage of the services, since the lack of resources in some cases, and more frequently their concentration in certain areas and social groups, is the reason for the present situation. The regionalisation of the services is an attempt to meet this problem, but unsupported it is not enough to solve it.

In face of the magnitude of children's needs, the implementation of this concept would be impossible by traditional means. A practical way of extending the coverage has been found in the provision of basic health services by workers with rudimentary training, with the active participation of the community and with support from reference and supervisory levels. This approach has received widespread support in the region, although there remain countries which while in a position to adopt it, prefer to apply a more strictly professional system.

The targets set up in 1972 in the context of the ten-year health plan aim to reduce to an ambitious extent the risks of illness and death: for infants under



one year by 50 per cent, for children aged 1 to 4 years by 60 per cent; for mothers by 40 per cent. As a condition of success it is considered essential to achieve 60 per cent of coverage for pre-natal care; 60 per cent to 90 per cent for the confinement and 60 per cent for post-natal service. As regards the children, it would be necessary to achieve coverages ranging from 90 per cent for children under 1 year of age to 50 per cent for those of 5 and over. However ambitious these goals may seem, their achievement will not remove the tragedy from the situation of child health. Moreover, these are isolated goals in the health sector. If the region were to decide to deal with the problem not only by conventional methods concerned with visible results and immediate causes, but by an attack on the conditions which create it, the mass of suffering and death might be substantially reduced.

Health Services

Immunisations: As the above account of the health situation has shown, there are still appreciable figures for diseases preventable by vaccination, despite the extension of these services. Today, extended immunisation programmes are tending to surmount this barrier in several countries.

Maternal and Child Services: As in the case of other services, the main problem lies in the unequal distribution of care at the various stages and in respect of its different components. The greater part of the resources are concentrated in the large urban centres. Efforts are being made to correct this imbalance. The first task is to amplify primary health care in the communities with insufficient coverage by means of the so-called risk criterion, that is, by means of a flexible distribution of resources in relation to the degrees of risk. In the case of the mother a high risk is represented by the first pregnancy, numerous deliveries, the excessive frequency of the pregnancies, pregnancy at the extremes of the childbearing age, the previous loss of a child and malnutrition. In the case of children the high-risk cases are those belonging to a large family, with overcrowding, illiterate parents, and poor sanitation in the home.

The current figures for coverage are extremely unequal. As regards pre-natal care, in 1976 the number of consultations for pregnancy in the countries possessing data ranged from 8 to over 600 for each 100 live births, while the percentages of deliveries carried out in institutions varied between 32 per cent and 98 per cent.

Human Resources: In respect of human resources for health, whereas in 1973 Argentina had 22 doctors, 6 nurses or 10 auxiliaries for each 10,000 inhabitants, the figures for Haiti in 1976 were somewhat less than 1 doctor, 1 nurse and 4 auxiliaries. In general the figures for doctors in Latin America range from 2 to 10 per 10,000 inhabitants. The major problem, however, is not the shortage of personnel but their concentration. The effort required is threefold: to increase the supply in many countries, to increase the proportion of intermediate categories, auxiliaries and community workers to cover the



extension of the services; and to change the spatial distribution.

Policies and Services for Pre-school Children

In the middle and high-income strata of Latin America and the Caribbean the environment generally guarantees provision of the basic elements for the stimulation, health and nutrition of children. Deficiencies in respect of health and nutrition are mainly found among the poor and both the physical environment and the type of psycho-social stimulation cause inequalities in comparison with other groups. This becomes evident later on in the school performances causing a high rate of repetition and desertion in the early years. The cumulative effect of this has a subsequent impact on productive opportunities and social life.

The first programmes of care for children at the pre-school age appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth as a counterpoise to urbanisation, female labour outside the home and the gradual disappearance of the extended family. In addition to new legislation for the protection of children, services in the fields of hygiene, nutrition and nursery schools or creches were introduced, with preferential concern for the physical aspect of child welfare.

In the middle of the present century kindergartens both private and public began to appear, with emphasis placed on the educational side. In some countries these services were introduced by the ministries of education with an average coverage of no more than 8 per cent. In general they were a feature of city life and favoured the children of prosperous families. Other types of institutions have undertaken the care of orphans and abandoned children. Even so, very few poor children have received attention and this has been solely directed towards their physical welfare.

A new interest in policies for pre-school children made its appearance at the end of the 1960s in the context of social development planning. Although the official programmes have tended to give preference to the educational aspects at the stage immediately preceding school, the persistence of problems such as malnutrition, mental retardation and other consequences of poverty, together with the influence of the new concepts on the evolutionary development of the child, have created new approaches in the region which are gradually receiving wider application.

The programmes of pre-school education are beginning to incorporate attention to health and nutritional needs. There are programmes for children of up to three years of age which emphasise the prevention of the effects of biological, environmental and social privations on the physical and mental development. Likewise, experimental programmes and research studies are taking place in several countries with a view to defining strategies of integral child care, which take into account the economic, social and cultural context. The integral care of the child from birth to six years of age is recognised as a stage by itself and tends to be handled outside the sphere of the ministries of



education.

Nevertheless, most of the services in the region still limit themselves to isolated aspects relating to the basic education, nutrition and 'welfare' of the child without considering their interrelation or the role of the family. The traditional models require a large and specialised staff and are costly to run and limited in coverage.

At present attention is centred on the concept of integral care and on the definition of risk criteria permitting priorities to be established. There is an awareness that action should be adapted to different needs at different stages of the child's development and also in the varying environmental conditions. There remains, however, a dearth of proved operational models that would facilitate its application on a large scale.

Educational Policies and Services

In the years between the immediate postwar period and the 1960s the authorities were mainly concerned with primary education, prompted on the one hand by the populist regimes and on the other by the process of urbanisation and industrialisation, which demanded an increasingly rapid supply of manpower.

In the 1960s and in the years that have elapsed in the present decade, industry has ceased to be a promoter of employment. Competition to enter the privileged sector of the employment market has been very great, and social demand has come to play an important role in education. Rural schooling remains relatively stagnant and its disparity with urban standards is increasing. Primary schooling in the cities is still expanding but it is secondary and higher education that reveals the most remarkable growth. Levels previously reserved for the elite are now open to vast groups of the population. In some countries, secondary level students represent 60 per cent or more of the 13 to 19 age group; in others higher education accounts for some 25 per cent of the 20 to 24 age group. The picture presents striking contrasts, since at the same time considerable proportions remain outside the primary school system and a number of rural children never even achieve literacy. If this trend continues the deficits in basic education will remain very high.

The problem is one of coverage, with reference not only to the physical existence of the school but also to its accessibility and utilisation. UNESCO pointed out long ago that the greatest problem of primary education in Latin America was the attrition rate. In 1965 the average attrition rate in 15 countries of the region was estimated at 62 per cent. In 1960 the percentage was clearly higher than in Africa and three times greater than in Asia or Europe. Behind the attrition, however, are the high percentages of repetition resulting from problems rooted in the social conditions already described.

There is deep concern about the effects of such a diverse educational effort on the heterogeneity, already mentioned, of the economic and social structure of the region. It is feared, with reason, that the educational disparity will have



an adverse effect on income distribution, on marginality and, in brief, on the integration of society as a whole, forming a typical vicious circle with cumulative effects.

It is clearly impossible today to place the same hopes in a mere raising of the educational level as were entertained in times now remote, when education was expected to solve all problems, economic, social and political. The very high levels attained by some countries have not prevented the recrudescence of certain problems. Even so, the deficiencies and frustrations in the educational field weigh heavily in the complex interaction characteristic of the development process.

The expansion of education involved a serious problem of teacher-training which in general the region has managed to surmount in terms of numbers. Nevertheless, it has been accompanied by a certain deterioration in the quality of the teaching.

The desire to introduce policies for the groups at present inadequately served by formal education has produced efforts in two directions. The first is the development of types of non-formal education directed to these groups. The second is a set of reforms in primary and secondary education tending to modify both the teaching aspects and the use made of the resources. Among these reforms may be mentioned the successes achieved in the grouping of rural schools, the experiments with industrial schools, linking primary education to scientific elements and development, and the special training of teachers for single-teacher schools.

It should be noted that there has not been such evident success in surmounting the linguistic and cultural barriers that hamper training in the indigenous communities, although a solution seems possible by means of a bilingual education which would enable the official language to be mastered through the native tongue. At all events it is clear that some diversification of educational forms and systems would be necessary to reduce these pockets that are inadequately covered.

With regard to non-formal education, this has shown that it might replace formal education at a lower cost and achieve a high degree of community involvement. But it requires an official policy to promote it and prevent its being appropriated by the more prosperous groups.

The need for a vigorous public policy in education is imperative if the aim is to reach the outposts hitherto neglected and to prevent a further increase in heterogeneity. The experience of the countries that have not had this type of policy shows that in the course of time its absence creates a deficient educational situation in relation to the level of economic development.

Policies on Habitat and Environmental Sanitation Services

The great problems of the Latin American habitat are linked with two major defects of the policies in this field: on the one hand, the failure to keep pace in the cities with the rate of urbanisation, being obliged to follow in the

wake of events; on the other, the failure to develop a reasonable capacity for penetrating the rural sector.

These defects are explained in part by the inadequacy of the institutional systems, conceived for static traditional societies or transposed from developed countries. Weakness on the part of local and intermediary authorities, lack of coordination, and conflicts of competence have been features of countries in which the state machinery has developed very rapidly in the interests of political and territorial unification.

They are explained in part also by the extreme limitation of resources and by the attempt to apply inadequate models taken from countries incomparably richer in relation to the size of the problems they have to face. In the housing field an attempt was made for a long time to 'eradicate' the marginal settlements, replacing them by housing estates built by formal industry. Among these mention should be made of examples of Neighbourhood Units conceived with an eye to the needs of children. But these were overwhelmed by the wave of marginality, without having reached the poorest sectors of the population.

The new orientations endeavour to achieve more extensive results by adopting a global view of the habitat, placing the accent on 'soft' technologies and revaluating spontaneous effort and local action. They focus policy emphasis on a more modest and realistic urban planning, on the management of land, on the creation of basic services and infrastructures (environmental sanitation, schools, basic health services), on the support of unofficial effort and on community participation. Environmental sanitation services, essentially a water supply and the disposal of solid and liquid wastes, are obviously assigned a high priority. The targets fixed at regional level for 1980 aim to supply potable water to 80 per cent of the urban population and 30 per cent of the rural population.

There is a noteworthy similarity between these policies and others relating to children, not only in their deliberate aim to enlarge their coverage in order to meet the needs of the great neglected masses by more modest means and standards, but also in their tendency to make use of local resources and the active participation of the community, which simplifies the integration of activities.

Population Policies

The relation between population growth and problems affecting children is by no means simple. In one sense it has been shown that, when the average level of development is raised and especially when internal imbalances are reduced and living conditions improved (which implies a definite improvement in most of the problems affecting children), there tends to be a spontaneous decrease in fertility and consequently in population growth.

There is another aspect, however, in which the relation is by no means so clear. The most popular argument is that a rapid growth of population tends



to be an obstacle to development and social progress, since it makes great demands on investment and throws a very heavy burden of unproductive child population on the shoulders of persons of working age. Nevertheless, the fact that in Latin America higher rates of increase in the population have tended to run parallel with higher rates of increase in the *per capita* product makes it necessary to treat this argument with great reserve. The problem is further complicated by the great differences between the individual countries, especially with regard to population pressure in relation to territory and resources.

A point to be noted is that in the countries of medium or rapid growth there is generally a much higher birth rate among the poorest sectors than in the rest of the population. This is a known fact, but it is not always remembered that this places a very heavy burden on these poor groups. Poverty in general brings with it pregnancies at an early age, many children born close together, a high death rate, undernutrition, premature child labour, school desertion, and all the later repercussions that have already been described, thus creating a vicious circle of problems which intensify poverty and increase the effort and sacrifices demanded of this group as a contribution to national development. It is probable that these phenomena also accentuate the internal imbalances of the development model. Even so, it should not be forgotten that in some cases a high birth rate forms part of the survival strategy of some types of poor families and that consequently their problems cannot be resolved solely in the field of fertility.

It is not surprising, in view of all this, that population policies have had different aims and have varied in the different countries of the continent.

Two viewpoints, however, have received ample support: the first is the right of the family freely to decide the number of its children with the greatest possible fund of information; the second is summed up by the governments themselves when at the Second Latin American Conference on Population of 1975 in Mexico they said that "the basis for an effective solution of demographic problems is first and foremost an economic and social transformation" and "the guidelines for action in the specific field of population require account to be taken of the nature of the structural roots of underdevelopment and of the dynamic of development." Other recommendations stress the importance of a multisectoral and integral approach to the problems of population and development.

In general the different policy orientations coincide in declaring, together with strictly demographic aims, their intention of helping to create the most favourable conditions for child development, to prevent the birth of children in adverse conditions, to increase the value placed upon the child, to avoid high-risk pregnancies, etc.

In the numerous countries that consider that the birth rate should be reduced the main specific instruments employed have been family planning programmes incorporated into maternal and child health services, course of

sex and family education included in the curricula of basic and secondary education and, less frequently, legislation on responsible parenthood. Results have varied according to the social framework and the types of family. In general they have had limited success in rural communities, but they seem to have made an appreciable contribution to acknowledged reductions in the birth in marginal urban sectors.

As regards the demographic effect of the policies seeking to improve the conditions of children, there is a drop in mortality in the early years of life and an increase in the size of the final family and in the growth rate of the population. However, insofar as the situation of children is improved in other fields, such as education and the standard of living, the effect in the long run could be a decline in fertility.

Policies Relating to the Family

In general the policies designed to improve the situation of children have tended to ignore the family units to which they belong. At the same time, the policies relating to families have generally been confined to isolated aspects such as birth control or maternal and child welfare.

The family is the object of policies when it is recognised as a unit of social relations and an attempt is made to maintain it or modify it in its forms of constitution (age on formation, formalisation of unions, number of children, stability, etc.), its internal relations (husband-wife, parent-child, division of roles, means of communications, authoritarianism, *machismo*, etc.) or its external relations with society and the environment (work and income; educational, health and other services; housing and infrastructures; relations with the local community). There is little possibility of changing one of these elements if its interaction with the others is not taken into account. They all constitute the immediate social framework of the children or of any other member of the family.

Taking the family as an object of policies implies at least three things: a diagnosis of the problems worked out for the different types of family; the identification of modified family types in which these problems have been solved; and the coherent application of a set of policy measures to achieve the desired result. Some of the problems that have to be taken into account in these policies are connected with: the situation of women, practically converted into slaves, dedicated to housework and to some other task which provides them with a small income; the situation of men, failures in their socially allotted role of family provider or hidebound in male domination; the situation of children, workers from an early age and frustrated in their preparation for the future.

At the same time, the measures adopted may relate to a great variety of aspects (work and income, agricultural property, inheritance, legal adjustments of the family relations, health, housing, general and professional education, family education) without necessarily having an effect on the



family group as a whole. In this sense the policies concerning the family are not, save exceptionally, policies which fall in line with or complement the others, but rather forms or requirements which most policies have to fulfil in order to be able to change social conditions and especially the conditions of children.

Additionally, family policies may regard the family as a focal point (those concerned with the family in itself) or as a strategic point (as a means, for example, of reaching the children or women).

The adoption of effective action in this field demands, in view of the backwardness existing in Latin America, a very great effort in research, the collection of empirical information and policy consideration. This undertaking must include the preparation of a typology, much more comprehensive than the present one, of Latin American families, and in particular of problem families or those of high risk, because of their effect on children. The next task is to propose models of desirable change which would be viable for such families and to determine suitable policy instruments. This in no way assumes the taking of one of these family types as a pattern, or failing to recognise the inevitable diversity and uniqueness of family forms.

Some of the aspects which must be taken into account, perhaps to try to correct them in preparing the models, are: the age of the unions; their formalisation and stability; the illegitimacy rates; the situation of women; the situation of children; the relationships between husband and wife and the connections with society as a whole. These aspects by being considered by themselves, or because the effects of measures taken on them were not clearly foreseen, have given rise in this continent to unsuccessful or counter-productive policies. A minimum 'packet' of measures designed to produce a desirable change in the families in a coherent form would include:

- (a) provision of regular employment for the heads of households, with a sufficient income and near to the home;
- (b) health, education and housing programmes and infrastructures of basic services;
- (c) programmes of mass family education;
- (d) programmes of family organisation on the basis of the neighbourhood or local community; and
- (e) adoption of supporting measures of a legal nature within the framework of development planning.

Strategies Against Poverty and Policies for Children

Underlying most of the problems affecting children will be found social inequalities and poverty. It is a simple matter, of course, to point out some serious problems which stem from other causes. It is also possible to indicate problems which, although intensified by poverty, are curable through specific policies such as those related to health. Even so, the limits of these



improvements are soon reached. Policies to combat inequality and poverty and specific policies in favour of children are complementary and mutually necessary.

In the context of the unified approach to development, various strategies for combating poverty have been proposed. Some of them place emphasis on full employment, others on growth with income redistribution, others on more radical structural changes. In one way or another all these strategies imply a set of coordinated actions designed to satisfy the basic needs of the whole population, or at least to place the whole population in a position to satisfy them independently.

Among all these basic necessities are those of children. In this sense policies in favour of children form a natural part of a strategy to combat poverty. Deficiencies suffered by children in nutrition, health, early stimulation or education are handicaps which bear heavily on their future adult life. Through these handicaps poverty reproduces itself. The vicious circle cannot be broken without a set of specific and energetic policies directed to the relief of the miseries of childhood.

TRENDS AND STRATEGIES

Expected Growth of the Child Population

In what remains of the century the population of Latin America will continue its vigorous growth and the proportion of children will remain high. In consequence, the child population (from birth to 14 years) will rise at the beginning at the rate of 3.3 million per year, to increase towards the end of the century at the rate of 3.9 million per year (the annual growth rate will be 2.2 per cent at the beginning, decreasing at the end to 1.7 per cent). In all, the number will rise from 150 million in 1980 to 226 million in the year 2000. It is expected that there will be a greater increase in the number of adolescents than in the number of young children.

The total of births per year will increase from the present 12 million to around 17 million at the end of the century (at an average rate of 1.65 per cent annually; at the beginning at 2.1 per cent, at the end around 1.3 per cent). On average each year will bring 240,000 more births to be attended.

The growth of the 6-12 year school-age population will be considerably greater (average 2.25 per cent annually). The 64 million in 1980 will become 100 million in the year 2000, which means an average increase of 1.8 million per year. The pre-school groups will grow at rates between those of newborn infants and schoolchildren. The coverage of the services is so low at this level that it seems futile to make detailed predictions about their growth. Taken together there will be in 1980, in addition to the 12 million children aged under one year, 33 million aged from one to three years and 21 million from four to five years, a total which will increase by roughly 50 per cent during the remainder of the century.



These increases will naturally have a marked influence on the needed expansion of services for children. Taken together, they should increase, for this reason alone, by around 2 per cent annually. Nevertheless the real expansion rate will have to be much higher in view of the present deficits in coverage. One of the services with relatively high coverage is the primary school. It can be estimated that at present it serves some 85 per cent of the 64 million schoolchildren, which amounts to 52 million. If the aim were to absorb the deficit by the end of the century, the primary school services would need to incorporate annually, instead of the 1.8 million additional children representing the population growth, 2.4 million children. To absorb the deficit in ten years it would be necessary to incorporate annually an additional 2.8 million.

Obviously the growth rates of the child population will continue to be very unequal in the different subregions and countries. In the Caribbean the number of children in the 0-14 age group could fall 8 per cent by the year 2000. In Cuba it could remain stable. There are likely to be increases of less than 20 per cent in Argentina, Chile, Panama and Uruguay; between 20 per cent and 40 per cent in Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, between 40 per cent and 60 per cent in Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela; and between 60 per cent and 80 per cent in Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua.

Table 1 (p. 266) shows the child population of Latin America by countries for 1980. Figures are given for different age groups corresponding roughly to certain types of policies and services. Table 2 (p. 267) shows, country by country, the expected changes in the child population by the year 2000.

The trend of rapid urbanisation will continue. The urban population in the coming years will increase at the rate of 8 million annually, while the rural population will grow by 1.3 million. Apparently, this gap will become still wider towards the end of the century, when urban growth may reach 12 or 13 million per year. By that time the rural population will have increased by 25 per cent and the urban population by 140 per cent in relation to 1975.

This has a marked repercussion on the demand for services. A 25 per cent increase in population will have little effect on the rural areas. There the service problem is one of quality and accessibility, not of saturation. The actual deficit in coverage is basically the same as would have to be met in the decades to come, apart from some newly settled areas or places where density had accelerated. Dispersion will continue to be the major obstacle. In contrast, the problem in the cities is at the same time one of quality and saturation. There the volume of population to be served will increase by 2.4, with a simultaneous growth in urban spread and in the number of cities exceeding the fixed critical limits. Thus the problem of present deficit is a minor one compared with the needs deriving from growth.

Obviously these statements must be interpreted in relation to the inequalities between countries and subregions. In Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela there are likely to be reductions in the rural population in absolute



TABLE I LATIN AMERICA — CHILD POPULATION BY COUNTRIES IN 1980

Country	Total 0-14 years			By selected age groups		
	Number	% of total popul.	Under 1 year	1-3 years	4-5 years	6-12 years
Argentina	7,637,624	28.0	557,542	1,627,539	1,054,239	3,463,083
Bolivia	2,440,177	43.8	199,839	563,831	348,030	1,064,688
Brazil	52,400,267	41.5	4,248,507	12,017,793	7,447,358	22,925,243
Chile	3,613,396	32.5	272,571	754,835	473,547	1,631,712
Colombia	10,868,839	40.4	880,788	2,388,941	1,441,618	4,793,662
Costa Rica	838,289	37.9	61,810	173,075	108,312	382,254
Cuba	3,189,998	32.0	168,056	543,790	402,432	1,594,027
Dominican Rep.	2,659,614	44.8	188,894	562,818	367,144	1,220,662
Ecuador	3,563,668	44.4	304,377	837,959	503,941	1,531,533
El Salvador	2,168,055	45.2	183,832	509,848	309,408	933,335
Guatemala	3,201,004	44.1	266,473	744,585	458,126	1,387,057
Haiti	2,530,540	43.6	210,252	587,827	359,068	1,098,499
Honduras	1,765,177	47.8	154,504	425,162	254,214	750,310
Mexico	31,748,136	45.4	2,726,528	7,517,378	4,543,391	13,597,090
Nicaragua	1,312,580	48.0	112,416	312,773	190,262	561,976
Panama	754,821	39.8	53,766	160,500	105,110	345,354
Paraguay	1,359,241	44.4	111,486	312,962	191,633	593,061
Peru	7,549,365	42.5	617,047	1,721,681	1,050,798	3,302,857
Uruguay	795,155	27.2	56,417	165,363	108,755	364,350
Venezuela	6,199,698	41.5	525,850	1,422,983	854,451	2,678,113
Latin America	146,595,644	40.9	11,900,955	33,351,643	20,571,837	64,218,863

terms, but in proportions less than 30 per cent, which would have little effect on rural services. The countries in which there could be rural population increases of over 50 per cent by the end of the century in relation to 1975, are Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras and Paraguay and in no case are they likely to exceed 71 per cent.

With regard to urban growth rates, they vary from country to country between 28 per cent and 323 per cent, but the population explosion in some individual cities will far exceed this rate.

Economic and Social Trends

If the trends described above show some stability, those of economic development are much more open to conjecture. Many different hypotheses can be formulated on the magnitude of the advances to be achieved in what remains of the century. Economic growth in Latin America, which halted midway through the decade in the course of a crisis affecting the pattern of world development, has recommenced in recent years, but at a lower rate than in the past. Accordingly there are no stable trends that can be projected automatically. The only possibility is to confine the forecasts within very rough-and-ready limits based on past experience going back several years.



TABLE 2 EXPECTED GROWTH OF THE CHILD POPULATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN BETWEEN 1980 AND 2000
(millions of children between 0 and 14 years)

<i>Country</i>	1980	2000	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Variation %</i>
Argentina	7.6	8.2	0.6	8
Bolivia	2.4	3.8	1.4	57
Brazil	52.4	79.3	26.9	51
Chile	3.6	4.2	0.6	16
Colombia	10.9	14.9	4.0	37
Costa Rica	0.8	1.1	0.2	28
Cuba	3.2	3.2	—	—
Dominican Rep.	2.7	3.3	0.7	25
Ecuador	3.6	6.0	2.4	69
El Salvador	2.2	3.5	1.4	63
Guatemala	3.2	5.0	1.8	57
Haiti	2.5	4.3	1.8	67
Honduras	1.8	2.9	1.2	67
Mexico	31.7	55.9	24.2	76
Nicaragua	1.3	2.3	1.0	73
Panama	0.8	0.9	0.1	19
Paraguay	1.4	2.1	0.7	54
Peru	7.5	11.2	3.7	48
Uruguay	0.8	0.9	0.1	13
Venezuela	6.2	9.1	2.9	48
Latin America	146.6	222.3	75.7	52
The Caribbean	4.1	3.8	—0.3	—8
Total	150.7	226.1	75.4	50

It seems reasonable to assume that the gross product per capita will increase for the region as a whole at a moderate rate somewhere between a cumulative annual 2 and 3 per cent. In contrast, it is probable that the growth rates for individual countries will vary between 1 per cent and 4 per cent annually. According to these hypotheses, the broad results would be as follows:

- The average level of the per capita GDP, estimated in 1977 at \$ 800 (1970 dollars), could rise by the end of the century to a figure between \$ 1,200 and \$ 1,600.
- The gaps between countries could widen. Even so, it may be hoped that only a group of small countries with no more than 10 per cent of the total population would still remain below \$ 600. According to the pessimistic view, a third of the countries, with two-thirds of the total population, might have gone beyond \$ 1,200. According to the optimistic view, half the countries, with 80 per cent of the total population, might have passed that limit. In the one case, those that had achieved \$ 2,000 would be the exception; in the other case, they would represent a minority, but a significant one.

It should be noted, however, that these predictions are reasonable only if the slow growth of the last three years is, as it is thought, a transitory phenomenon and if Latin America soon recovers, at least partially, its former dynamism. If it were to become a permanent feature of the new international relations, obviously these hopes would crumble.

Whatever these conjectures may be worth, it can be affirmed that:

- (a) Unless there is a development very different from the hypotheses on economic growth in the region, most of the countries should, from now to the end of the century, reach levels at which, if and when they have achieved an adequate income distribution and adopted effective social policies, a large number of the most critical problems of children could be solved; and
- (b) Nevertheless, considering the low growth rate and the present economic difficulties, substantial changes cannot be expected in the short term, which makes it necessary in many cases to devise policies based on modest resources.

Income Distribution and Poverty

In this respect the trends are much more disturbing. Apparently the average levels rise while leaving the poor sectors behind; the strata in varying situations of poverty maintain their percentages and, therefore, increase in number. At all events they do not decrease. Meanwhile, the upper strata and ever growing sectors of the middle strata achieve the levels and consumption patterns of developed societies, creating an internal imbalance which is constantly increasing.

This is a serious matter, since income distribution is already very unequal in the region. From the standpoint of the problems of children, it nullifies to a great extent the results of the economic growth, since poverty generates problems which the best policies and the best services cannot solve.

Among the causes affecting these adverse trends there are several which show no signs of diminishing. These include: the structural heterogeneity of the economies in respect of productivity and technology; the inadequate distribution of productive factors such as land; unemployment and underemployment; the marginalization of large sectors in respect of education and health care; the inequalities of influence and bargaining power; and the weakness of redistribution policies.

Food and Nutrition

The figures relating to food availability and consumption, especially those showing per capita calorie intake, reveal a slow trend towards improvement. There has been some decline in the number of countries with overall insufficiency and in the proportion of the deficit. Even so, the trend is not satisfactory, since it is too slow and some of the countries with major problems



are making little progress.

The difficulty in general does not lie in the overall capacity of food production, except in some cases where there is high population pressure in relation to the available land. In these cases the pressure on resources tends to increase. With these exceptions, however, the problem lies in the capacity of certain social groups to gain access to the food supply and to generate an effective demand that would increase production. This occurs in the agrarian subsistence economies tied to the small farm, where monetary income is non-existent, and in the strata with a minimum monetary income.

However, as there is no sign of a solution to these two problems, there is likewise no tendency on the part of the economy to generate a substantial improvement in food supply and consumption.

In the particular case of children, whose nutritional conditions are closely linked with the family and the social situation, improvements depend on the success of specific nutritional policies and programmes, which vary from country to country and in general are very limited in scope.

There have been some changes for the better in the hygienic and nutritive quality of children's food, although by themselves they cannot solve the problem of accessibility. Other changes, such as the gradual decrease in breast-feeding in urban areas, prompted by female labour and cultural influences, only serve to aggravate the situation.

Health

There have been some positive advances in health, which can be measured by the fall in the mortality rate and the increase in life expectancy. It is to be hoped that this improvement will continue, since the figures for preventable diseases and causes of death are still high and there is still a long way to go in improving the quality and coverage of the services. The urbanising trend facilitates the improvement of the averages, and the general concern to raise the quality and broaden the coverages is firm and is expressed, through planning, in programmes which are on the whole tending to increase.

Nonetheless, there is little progress in the effective penetration of the health services into rural areas, and this has led to the current experiments with new strategies such as primary health care and integrated services, which are expected to achieve a marked improvement in performance. It must not be forgotten, however, that the existing trends in the economic, social and environmental variables will continue to have a strong negative impact on health, thus limiting advances in this field.

Education

The trend towards rapid expansion in secondary and higher education continues. Although higher education tends to saturate the employment market in some countries, social pressures in favour of the expansion of both levels of education will remain.



In primary education the outlook is different. In some countries, which have already achieved the coverage of their needs, growth will be slow and in line with the population increase. In others, which still have deficits to cover, the expansion rate is unequal and often insufficient. These deficits are due in declining measure to failure to provide the service and in increasing measure to the difficulties stemming from social conditions: poverty, child labour, the linguistic and cultural problems of indigenous populations, etc. Accordingly, there is a dangerous risk of the persistence of geographical and social pockets where educational advances could be too slow. At the same time, with the raising of educational levels as a whole, the effects of the deficiencies in basic education might be graver and might intensify marginalization.

In view of these difficulties new forms of primary education are being studied and put to the test, and state policies are being reassessed.

Habitat

The rapid advance of urbanisation will have a delaying effect on reform in rural communities. The expansion of road networks and communications tends to put an end to total isolation, to reduce the socio-cultural gap, to facilitate migration and to create opportunities for new forms of activity. Nevertheless, physical dispersion in isolated dwellings and small communities will continue. The coverage of some services, especially the water supply, will continue to increase, but with a tendency to leave large deficits behind. Limited improvements in housing conditions are expected.

There is little attempt to control the growth of cities. It is probable that spontaneous urbanisation and improvised building at the hands of the poorest sectors will continue to play a fundamental role, creating problems similar to those existing at present. Deficiencies in environmental sanitation tend to remain very high, although major percentage advances in water supply may be expected. The older decaying suburbs will gradually expand as the middle- and high-income groups seek a new residential environment.

The problems of congestion and contamination threaten to assume alarming proportion in the great cities and industrial centres, while there is a persistent trend towards the creation of forms of urban habitat that are very hostile to children.

Submerged Categories

It seems that, as far as the tribal indigenous population is concerned, the trend is rather towards its extinction than towards its integration or preservation.

With regard to the indigenous populations living in urban fringe areas, in many countries they will continue to be an important part of the phenomenon of urbanisation and there are no clear indications that their problems will diminish. Neither is there any approach to the solution of the problem of the indigenous agricultural communities.



For the agricultural communities as a whole, it seems that the entry of communications and transport will continue to go hand in hand with the introduction of modern patterns of production. Insofar as poverty, shortage of land, lack of economic and technical support and cultural problems prevent the rural populations from taking part in these, the new productive pattern will disorganise the traditional forms, reducing the land-workers to the condition of wage-earners or migrants. In mountainous regions or others with low productive capacity, the small subsistence farm will remain. Consequently there is no prospect of a solution to these problems.

No major changes are foreseen in the situation of the inhabitants of marginal urban districts except perhaps a drop in fertility in many of them. To achieve substantial improvements a great expansion in employment would be needed in economic sectors of high or medium productivity, which would absorb surplus labour from the informal sector. Moreover, a great improvement would be necessary in the distribution of income, including the formal sector. There are no trends observable in these directions.

Some Orientations of Strategies and Policies Relating to Children

The recapitulation that follows is not a blueprint for strategies nor yet a piecemeal statement of recommendations. It is simply an attempt to summarise the conclusions arising from a study of the situation of children in the current process of Latin American developments and its sole purpose is to facilitate reflection on these conclusions. In particular, it does not take into account the specific conditions applicable to individual countries, or the diversity of options existing in the region in respect of strategies and instruments.

Whenever the subject is considered, children are assigned pride of place as beneficiaries of the fruits of development. Their preventable deaths, the hunger they endure, their diseases, their neglect, their unnecessary psychological sufferings and the untimely sacrifice of their future potential—all these evils provoke unanimous condemnation and unify proposals for their eradication.

In recent decades, Latin America has achieved ambitious goals. Nonetheless, there remains for children an all too tragic balance.

Today, in a unified approach to development such as that supported by the Latin American community, the life, health and well-being of the child are essentially conscious and explicit objectives. Accordingly it is also an explicit objective to remove the causes producing the tragic balance: extreme poverty, the marginalisation of the submerged categories, the sordidness of their living conditions and the inadequacy of the policies adopted.

This makes the existence of a strategy for children imperative. This strategy should be incorporated into development planning. For this there must first be effective social planning. This brings into prominence the conviction that the governments have reached in recent years as to its



necessity, and requires a consolidation of the institutional development observable in the form of organs of social planning, research and implementation, progress in methods and advances in the training of personnel.

The specific problems of children must be taken together for the purposes of study and the formulation of a strategy, which should be incorporated into the objectives, policies, and programmes of the planned development. It is fundamental to implement the strategy in terms of coordinated action and to maintain progress in methods of control and assessment with techniques suited to the social nature of the programmes.

All policies aimed at extreme poverty have for this very reason a positive impact on children. It is desirable, however, to take children expressly into account when assessing, in order to minimise, the social cost of these policies. Policies specifically directed to children are excellent in the struggle against poverty, since extreme poverty reproduces itself through the privations it visits on the children.

Policies to combat poverty cannot function solely at the economic level, nor can they be aimed at isolated individuals. They must have a very special regard for the social problems of the submerged groups and categories. Deserving of special mention among these are the problem families and the conditions determining their situation, the social and cultural problems affecting the indigenous communities and the influence of the physical environment on the isolated rural communities and the marginal urban settlements.

In many fields, experience has led to an integration of activities and services replacing the tradition of isolated sectoral action. This is due in part to the fact that problems such as food, health, environmental hygiene and the habitat, employment, education or productive resources are so interrelated that progress cannot be achieved in one field without some advance being made in the others. It is also due to the difficulties encountered by each service in covering satisfactorily the social pockets where the greatest problems are found. The integration of services makes possible large scale economies and a participation by the community that enlarges the efficacy of the work done.

Food and nutrition policies should centre on the production of foodstuffs and their availability, accessibility, consumption and biological utilisation as forming part of a system. This makes it possible to go to the causes, to decide what action must be taken on the bottlenecks, and to function in a multisectoral way. At the local level integrated action is recommended, with the participation of the community, with a view to giving priority to child nutrition administered on a family basis. Considerable importance is given to support for research and training.

Top priority in the health services is assigned to total coverage. This is expressed in the emphasis placed on primary health care, including education and direct action, with the help of local personnel having intermediate or elementary qualifications and with the participation of the community. This



type of care seeks to take the family as unit, fixes priorities in terms of risk criteria, and assigns fundamental importance to nutritional conditions, environmental sanitation, preventive rather than curative measures and social conditions, in order to overcome the obstacles to traditional medicine found in this type of environment. In this approach, special attention should be given to the training and full utilisation of human resources.

The conviction exists that a great deal of harm, perhaps irreversible, could be prevented by vigorous action directed to children at pre-school ages, especially those belonging to the high-risk groups and submerged categories. This action should not be merely educational or solely preparatory to going to school. It should take the family and the mother as strategic targets and cover food, health, early stimulation and integrated action on the social conditions.

Very vigorous policies will be required to hasten the penetration of primary education into the social pockets where coverage has been deficient. To achieve this it is necessary to add to formal education the possibilities of the informal type and to motivate, to act on the social conditions that generate obstacles such as premature child labour, to develop effective methods of bilingual education and to reform the techniques and increase the resources of primary education.

A strategy for the improvement of the marginal habitat is essential. Even if a much greater volume of material and technical resources is provided, it cannot take the place of the spontaneous effort of the people. The resources should be allotted to the support of this effort, especially the organised participation of the community. The priority given to water supply and environmental hygiene must be intensified. It will be necessary to learn to administer land planning and policies, anticipating events by assisting the creation of a more humane pattern of urban life.

There is a need for a new and more clearly defined statement of the aims and procedures of the policies for local community development, with a redistribution of resources and responsibilities. The problems of children are greatly affected by concrete local conditions; they require local participation and are capable of motivating it.

Special attention must be focused on the family and a study made of its forms and problems, if the conditions of the children are to be better understood. Imaginative policies are needed to help to surmount problematical situations. Particular interest should be directed to the circumstances of the mother. While direct action on behalf of abandoned children should be maintained, it must be remembered that the only real rescue is the rescue of the child with his family, and the only way to ensure this is to prevent its breakup.

Each country has its individual problems and it is the responsibility of each to work out its own strategy. In what remains of the century, the persistence of present conditions will mean 30 million child deaths; a similar number



of cases of serious malnutrition which could result in permanent suffering or the risk of premature death; and an even greater number of frustrated lives, of children robbed of their childhood and cast into the world without the necessary support and preparation. This might occur or it might not, according to the result of the strategies described.

It would be criminal not to say this in time.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The international agencies should make an even greater effort and lend their whole support to the challenge of solving the problems of children in Latin America and the Caribbean. It would be an unjustifiable mistake if these agencies, following abstract economic indicators referring to national averages, were to regard Latin America as a world 'middle class' that could dispense with their cooperation. After helping to analyse and understand the problems of social development they could not fail to realise that the task facing these countries of overcoming the internal inequalities and imbalances, the regional backwardness, the marginality and the poverty which make averages a sham, is as difficult on its own scale as creating a just international order.

For the realisation of this enlarged endeavour the region possesses its own network of institutions for collaboration between countries in the field of economic and social development and even in respect of children. Although it may perhaps be necessary to complement it, it is already a very valuable instrument that should be fully exploited.

Particular importance should be assigned to technical and financial assistance in support of research, experimentation or execution of policies for the improved upbringing, preparation and development of children. Special priority should be given to actions designed to break the vicious circles maintaining inequality and to produce structural changes which would, reduce social heterogeneity and eradicate extreme poverty.

To achieve this, the transference of scientific and technological knowledge continues to be a basic instrument. Today, however, this transference does not invariably involve the need to resort to experts and technicians from outside the region. Many countries of Latin America and the Caribbean now possess personnel and organisations highly qualified in certain specialities. If a comparison is made between the present situation and that existing at the start of the 1950s, when the United Nations began its work, it will be seen that the universities and other institutions of these countries have formed, in sufficient quality and quantity, professionals and technicians prepared to serve their own national communities. This is particularly true in areas of social development such as public health and education. The recognition and stimulus of international cooperation can help to mobilise these resources.

The organisation of 'horizontal cooperation' among Latin American



countries and among developing countries may also satisfy a considerable part of the needs, though this does not imply leaving international cooperation on one side. This is another field in which external resources and cooperation may facilitate understanding and assist the initiation of programmes of differing character, magnitude and content.

Furthermore, there are now in the region—and their number will increase in the coming years—more expeditious and better organised institutions and mechanisms in the respective governments, especially those of a technical or administrative nature concerned with national planning. As a result, the dialogue between the governments and the agencies of external cooperation may become more active and may facilitate better understanding and the surmounting of some earlier problems in the sphere of coordination, determination of priorities and allocation of resources. At the same time, the 'programming by country' approach that the United Nations has been developing in the last decade for a more efficient channelling of external aid will also strengthen and give practicality to these objectives.



Child Labour in Asia : An ILO Survey

IT IS gratifying and educational for a child to perform light, occasional work of the kind he does in his own home from an early age. But work performed by children at a tender age under arduous conditions because of an imperative need to contribute to the family budget—whether on their own account, as employees or in family enterprises—is harmful for their present and future physical and mental health.

It is estimated that in 1979, 52 million children under 15 years of age are working all over the world; 38.1 million of them in Asia (mostly in the South East: 29 million), which occupies the first place in this respect. Of the 38.1 million children working in Asia, 29.6 million are unpaid family workers.¹ However, there are various reasons for believing that these figures are underestimated, as child labour in Asia is very widespread. Children work chiefly in agriculture, but also, to an increasing extent, in the towns, as a result of the rapid urbanisation of the past few decades, mainly in the informal sector (petty commerce, service) but also in factories. Those who are paid usually have to put up with highly unsatisfactory working conditions. Living conditions in general, as well as sanitation, nutrition and the level of education of children who work are generally very poor. Moreover, these children do not have enough opportunities to play nor to take healthy exercise; they cannot develop their mental capacities to the full; at their places of work they usually only learn the barest rudiments of an occupation; they become over-tired, lowering their resistance to all kinds of illnesses; when they work in the streets they run great risks (traffic hazards, bad company, vagrancy, prostitution, drug addiction, etc.), and they are more exposed than adults to the risks of occupational accidents and diseases, as well as to health problems of a more or less chronic nature or not easily curable (the possibility of stunted growth, deformation of the spinal column, skin diseases, tuberculosis, flat feet, etc.).

Broadly speaking, it may be said that all the obstacles inhibiting the satisfactory development of children who work exert a decisive influence on their future opportunities for employment, remuneration and social advancement; worse still, vegetation in a rapidly developing world implies physical, spiritual and social deterioration.

Despite this state of affairs, international instruments and national laws do exist to protect children against exploitation. ILO convention No. 138 of 1973, concerning minimum age for admission to employment, stipulates,

¹Data from the Bureau of Statistics and Special Studies of the ILO.



inter alia, that the minimum age for admission to employment must be raised progressively to a level consistent with the fullest physical and mental development of young persons, and that this age must not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling, and in any case not less than 15 years, subject to the proviso that member states of the ILO whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may specify a minimum age of 14 years. The convention also provides for the authorisation of the performance of light work by young persons of from 13 to 15 years subject to certain conditions, and stipulates that young persons under 18 years of age must not be allowed to perform work likely to jeopardise their health, safety or morals. Fourteen countries have ratified this convention so far, but no Asian countries are among them. Nevertheless, the majority of countries have adequate protective legislation, which signifies that the child labour which is so widespread in Asia is for the most part exacted illicitly and, what is more, under conditions which do not fulfil the requirements of this protective legislation.

CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA AND INDONESIA

In India,² the problem of child labour apparently may seem to be a product of such factors as customs, traditional attitude, lack of schools or reluctance of parents to send their children to school, urbanisation, industrialisation, migration and so on. But the extreme poverty, and agriculture as the main occupation of the majority of people in India, are the main causes at the root of the problem.

One obvious reason for engagement of child labour is that it is very cheap and is also readily available in the agricultural and rural sectors. In plantations it takes the form of work as part of a family group. The parents do the main field work and children assist them in plucking the leaves, coffee berries or collecting latex, or they do secondary jobs such as weeding, spreading fertilisers, etc.

In many situations boys and girls, especially girls, have been observed to be working even at an early age of 6 years, but the usual age at which children start working seems to be 8-9 years.

Further, many children between the age of 8-9 years are bounded as labourers against petty loans taken by their fathers, despite the prohibition of bonded labour under Article 23.1 of the constitution and the Government of India's active drive to abolish this practice during 1975-76.

Generally in family endeavours like agriculture and agro-industries, child labour is unpaid.

²Data taken from Gangrade, K.D., "Child Labour in India", New Delhi, 1978. Monograph specially commissioned by the ILO.

Hawking, shoe-shining, paper selling, collection of scraps, rags, riksha pulling, petty business, etc., are the activities where children are self-employed.

Some studies give a harrowing picture of the working conditions and environment in which children have to work.

The tea stalls and 'dhabas' (road side restaurants) where children work are often small. The children working in these shops are exposed to the vagaries of weather—rain, hail and scorching sun, as they have to work mostly in open without adequate clothing or footwear.

The hawkers' and shoe shiners' work place is usually pavement in the cities or railway stations and bus stops. Their housing conditions are not much different from those of other slum-dwellers.

The nature of work and the work environment are invariably the most unhygienic for the children working in the trade of collection of rags and other waste material. Even in the most severe winter, children are seen working in the open without a single sweater or other protection.

The data of the available studies indicate beyond doubt that the hours of work even in establishments are excessive and certainly beyond the capacity of a child less than 14 years of age.

The Labour Bureau found that in small industries and cottage industries, such as watch manufacture, cashewnut processing, bidi making, carpet weaving, etc., employment of under-age children, either uncertified or having 'false age certificates, continues. The actual hours of work were found to be in excess of the prescribed hours under different enactments. In cottage industries, children were required to work as long as adult workers, except where 'home work' system was prevalent. The working conditions for children in the bidi and glass industries continued to remain deplorable.

In unlicensed dhabas and tea stalls children often work more than ten hours a day. So is the case with domestic workers. The usual working hours of children are between 9 to 10 hours allround the year with a rest interval of one hour between 13 : 00 to 14 : 00. However, establishments mostly provide weekly offs at least on paper. In household enterprises the daily hours of work vary from 7-16 hours.

In Indonesia,³ children (boys and girls) under nine years of age perform any work usually in the service sector, for a little pay or for some food/clothes. In the cities children are usually employed in shoe-shining, cigarette and newspaper selling. This business is done at permanent places or by circling. Usually it is done by boys of twelve years of age. Vending of ceramics, foods, drinks, etc., by boys, sometimes under twelve years of age, and medicine, drinks, rice, etc., usually by girls (almost fourteen years of age and older) is found in Jakarta and other cities. The goods are usually prepared by the parents.

³Data taken from Soeratio, F., "Child Labour in Indonesia", Jakarta, 1978. Monograph specially commissioned by the ILO.



It becomes clear that there are no statistics available (officially or unofficially) and there is no percentage for the number of children employed as compared with the total child population and the total labour force. But it is felt that the number of children working in the small-scale industry is declining.

But from the other side the number of small businesses or self-employment on one's own account is increasing.

Mostly on the outer islands (other than Java) children are employed at plantations.

Traditionally children help their parents (workers) or are employed at home, of course, without pay.

Wages are usually paid in kind, food, lodging and clothes, in family undertakings.

In several factories where the work relation is based on contract, the agreed working time is voluntarily not observed. It happens in the cigarette industry that girls work from 5 a.m. until 5 p.m. with a break of one hour at noon.

It is observed that the wage of a child performing the same work as an adult, is not on the same level as that of the adult (usually 70-80 per cent).

Attendance at school is formally compulsory, but the lack of learning-opportunities is the predominant reason for parents to send their children to work. It is in fact not because of the reluctance of parents to send their children to school, but only the shortage of schools.

CHILD LABOUR IN PAKISTAN AND THAILAND

In Pakistan,⁴ for example, a higher child labour force participation rate is reported for rural areas than for urban areas. The higher participation rates of agricultural labour force right from the youngest age group to the older ages are primarily due to the fact that agriculture in Pakistan is generally a family enterprise involving both the young and the old members of the family. The younger children are mostly involved during the sowing and harvesting seasons. Further, agriculture is not mechanised on a wider scale so as to substitute the children with machines.

Children are tagged along by adults—(fathers, uncles) for the sake of apprenticeship in the small industries.

Most children all over Pakistan work in the carpet industry (hand-woven). Weaving carpets is a family occupation transmitted from generation to generation.

The organisation of work in the carpet industry is of two types: informal, at home, where family children are easily absorbed; formal, where the

⁴Data taken from Hafeez, S., "Child Labour in Pakistan", Karachi, 1978. Monograph specially commissioned by the ILO.



industrialist has his own looms installed at his factory. In this case the adult weaver in turn brings along his own children ranging from 8-12 years of age. However, the formal work relationships, *i.e.*, wage payment, etc., exist between the employers and the adults. The adult splits the portion of his wage with his children. The mode of payment to the adult worker is usually piece rate, *i.e.*, per foot. Approximately 40-60 rupees per foot is the rate depending upon the quality of the carpet.

From the children's point of view, one advantage for working under such work environment is that they are not strictly watched by the employers, they are not expected to conform to rules and procedures as the adult workers are. In this context, the children with their soft and small hands can give good and tight knots. Their grips are nice. Carpets with good and tight knots are sold at a higher cost for such carpets just last longer.

As export demand for carpets is very important, the Export Promotion Bureau does not want to discourage the child labour in the carpet industry. Export demand is higher than the availability of labour in the carpet industry, so children also make up for the shortage of labour in this industry.

Furthermore, a family with many children and relatively lower income cannot afford to send their children to schools, so they prefer to have them work. Some orphans also work in the carpet industry. Finally, children work faster than adults, so more work gets done in fewer hours. With the children, time for work is economised.

The employer's advantage is that they deal with only a few persons. The fewer the persons in a factory, the lesser the burden of enforcement of law. They do not have the burden of enforcing the law in the case of the children. They do not have to deal with the leave cases of the children. The adult worker's advantage is that he is not victimised. He gets more work from children on less wages.

In the carpet industry, dust from wool gets absorbed in the lungs of workers and causes tuberculosis. Children often do not use masks.

Shoe industry is another where goods are exported and where there is a shortage of skilled workers. Children's training on the job, however informal, is completed within two or four years. They receive special training in preparing the specific parts of the shoe and the whole process of shoe-making as well. It is in a sense a family occupation again.

Children have been exploited mostly in the construction industry or digging industry. They are abducted and confined in camps. They are strictly watched and severely punished and humiliated if they try to escape.

The number of children in the textile industry, at least in Karachi, has gone down since 1969 when some active trade unions proposed that the wages to children equal to that of adult may be given in exchange for their work which the leaders thought was of adult's level. This proposal of unions was not of course acceptable to the employers.



In Thailand,⁵ during the past 4-5 years the number of children coming into town has risen to hundred thousands. These children are both boys and girls with no education and no experience. They mostly come from the highland in the northeast.

The industrial sectors where the children are employed include the glass industry, the canned food and candy industry, the garment industry, the cold storage industry, the torch-light industry, the ornaments industry, the toys industry, the metal industry, etc. They also work as waiters, street vendors, etc.

Working children at the glass industry have to walk from end to end to move glasses. Another assignment is glass blowing and glass pressing. They are easily exposed to heat and scattering glass pieces. On average, the working hours are 7 to 8 hours a day. The holidays fall on Sundays but children are not paid for Sundays because they are employed on a daily basis.

Most children live in nearby areas and they come to assist their parents until they have enough experience. The pay is lower than an average standard. In case of accidents such as cuts, first-aid is provided.

The cold storage industry employs a great deal of child labour. The children at work are aged from 12 to 15. The pay is based on hourly and monthly basis. And the basic work is in connection with sorting out the sizes of seafood such as prawns and squids. Children also clean, pack and weigh seafood. Sometimes, they have to steam prawns before packing. The floor of the factories is flooded due to seafood cleaning and the children have to stand working all the time on it.

In the canned food industry the work is mainly packing. The place is crowded and unclean. The lighting and airing system is poor. There are no fans. Both employers and employees do not take any consideration of working rules and regulations. The pay is based on monthly and daily basis. The work is fast and continuous even without rest or relaxation. They usually over-work, in order to get more pay.

Most waiters and waitresses are between 12 and 15 years old. Their working hours vary from 9 to 11 or 12 a day. The street vendors are both boys and girls, aged between 10 and 15; most of them are schooling and take the job as a past-time. The income is high. The favourite places for these children are the traffic-congested areas, the inter-sections, the movie-houses, etc. The work is popular in spite of its risky nature.

The lowest monthly child wage is 150 bahts, the maximum wage is 550 bahts. The difference between the child wage and the adult wage is 15-20 bahts a day or 200-250 bahts a month. Though the children get less wage, they never petition any claim. Moreover, they have no collective bargaining power. The employers can treat the children as they like.

⁵Data taken from Prachankhadee, B., *et. al.*, "Child Labour in Thailand", Bangkok, 1978. Monograph specially commissioned by the ILO.

CONCLUSION

The present socio-economic situation in Asia offers very difficult living conditions for the majority of the population; one of the many effects of this system, which does not allow the masses to satisfy their most elementary needs, is that children are put to work at too early an age in order to supplement the meagre family income. To combat this scourge of child labour, and at the same time the situation that has given rise to it, a series of measures appear to be called for. In the first place, it would be necessary to implement the ILO's programme of action for the satisfaction of basic needs, and in particular its demands for the guaranteeing of equal remuneration for work of equal value, the provision of vocational training and working conditions adapted to the age of the persons concerned, prohibition of the exploitation of child labour and increased educational opportunities. Along the same line of thought it would be desirable, more specifically, to strive to enforce the legislation aimed at the abolition of child labour and to back it up by practical social policy measures such as the granting of family allowances, the more appropriate types of welfare work, the establishment and development of a suitable infrastructure of healthy recreational facilities and the adoption of measures with a view to the generalisation of compulsory schooling, having regard to local conditions and needs. Even though at present hardly any South or Southeast Asian country is in a financial position to carry out such programmes on a large scale, the situation might improve if they were to adopt a determined approach as a matter of policy, modify the priorities allocated in their respective national budgets and attach due importance to the need to be able to rely on the near future on a healthy and educated younger generation. It would also be necessary to convince the trade unions of the need to give more thought than hitherto to the abolition of child labour, which would have as its counterpart an increase in the employment—and the earnings—of adults.

So long as the abolition of child labour has not effectively been achieved in the manner prescribed by law, the conditions in which children work and live today will have to be protected by every means appropriate to the circumstances, traditions and types of work performed in each country—for instance, through tax relief, subsidies or other types of indemnities, etc.

It might also be possible, making use of all the communication media available, to organise campaigns to inform the public of the harmful effects of child labour and its alternatives, emphasising that children should not have their senses dulled nor their future jeopardised through having to work, but, on the contrary, should be able to enjoy themselves healthily and acquire an education.

It would appear that a final solution to the problem of child labour depends on the economic, social and cultural development of the countries of the region. □

Child Welfare Development: The Singapore Experience

Stella R. Quah

CHILD WELFARE services are a common part of the social services provided in modern societies. There are, however, international variations in terms of the emphasis placed on child welfare compared to other types of welfare, as well as variations in the extent to which different aspects of child welfare are regulated and implemented. The main premise in this analysis is that there are two distinct types of child welfare services, *i.e.*, the case services and the public social utilities. Furthermore, the latter type is given less emphasis in policy formulation and implementation in developing countries than the former. The strengthening of public social utilities is needed as a nation moves to higher levels of social development and industrialisation.

To illustrate this premise, an analysis will be made of child welfare services in Southeast Asia, taking Singapore as the central example and drawing parallels with her immediate neighbours—Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines—whenever possible. Finally, the problems of demand and supply of child welfare services will also be discussed.

CASE SERVICES VS. PUBLIC SOCIAL UTILITIES

Some definitions are in order at the outset. Regarding welfare services, the distinction between case services and public social utilities has been made by Kahn and Kamerman¹ in their international study of social services. They define social services as 'essential forms of communal provision'² and indicate five basic social services or public utilities (*i.e.*, education, income-transfer, health services, public housing and employment training) and a sixth type, the 'personal social services' which are individualised in delivery 'assuring access to rights or benefits or offering counselling and guidance'.³

Personal social services are themselves classified into case services and

¹See A.J. Kahn and S.B. Kamerman, *Social Services in International Perspective: The Emergence of the Sixth System* (Washington: US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1976).

²*Ibid.*, p. 2.

³*Ibid.*, p. 3.

public utilities. Kahn and Kamerman define case services as those personal social or welfare services for people with special problems which require 'a diagnostic or assessment process' and formal or informal certification of need or eligibility.⁴ Public social utilities, on the other hand, are defined by Kahn and Kamerman as personal welfare services addressed to and used by consumers at their own initiative and convenience.⁵ Case services in child welfare include programmes and homes for abused and neglected children, institutional care for juvenile delinquents and child guidance clinics for children with behavioural problems. The child day-care programmes and centres constitute the most ready example of public utilities in child welfare.

Legislation in Singapore, like that of most new nations, is geared almost exclusively to the provision of case services in child welfare. Indeed, the regulations concerning the protection of women and girls in the Women's Charter, the Adoption of Children Act, and the Children and Young Persons Act⁶ all deal with child abuse, child neglect, juvenile delinquency and the general protection of children and young persons who may be considered to be 'in moral danger'. The public utilities side of child welfare, that is, the day-care services for normal children have received less explicit attention from policy makers. There is, nevertheless, a general policy communicated through public speeches by political leaders and other less formal channels, whereby the private sector both at the level of private business enterprises as well as voluntary organisations are encouraged to participate actively in the provision of child day-care services while the government concentrates its efforts on case services.⁷

A similar preponderance of legislation on case services over public utilities is found in Indonesia,⁸ Malaysia,⁹ Thailand¹⁰ and the Philippines,¹¹ all of which are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). A combination of public and private efforts including voluntary

⁴Kahn and Kamerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶See Law Revision Commission, *The Statutes of the Republic of Singapore*. Revised Edition of Acts (Singapore: Singapore National Printers, 1970).

⁷Social Welfare Department, *Annual Report 1977* (Singapore: Social Welfare Department, 1978), p. 22.

⁸The National Coordinating Board for Family and Child Welfare, *Activities in the Field of Child Welfare in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Ministry for National Research of the Republic of Indonesia, 1966).

⁹Federal Department of Information, Malaysia, *National Planning and Development for Children and Youth* (Kuala Lumpur: Life Printers, n.d.); and B.H.M. Baharuddin and B.H. Shaharuddin, *Situation of Children and Youth in West Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia Centre for Development Studies, 1971), pp. 65-66.

¹⁰P. Yamklifung, *The Needs and Problems of Children and Youth in Four Slums in Bangkok* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Social Science Research Institute, 1973), pp. 109-126.

¹¹E.P. Reubens, *Planning for Children and Youth Within National Development Planning* (Geneva: UN Research Institute for Social Development, 1967).



organisations have resulted in the establishment of some day-care centres in Malaysia¹² while the municipal government in Bangkok runs a few of these centres for working mothers in the lower class.¹³ However, compared to the emphasis received by case services, the public utilities of child welfare have not been developed fully in any of the ASEAN countries.

If one considers the development of welfare services as a community response to the changing economic, social and political environment,¹⁴ it is then useful to see Singapore vis-a-vis the other four ASEAN countries in terms of some relevant economic and social indicators. Table 1 illustrates the wide range of variation among these five countries. In response to her high population density and small size, Singapore has managed to reduce population increase and has the lowest birth rate. Singapore's infant mortality rate is the lowest while Indonesia has the highest. Life expectancy is also the highest in Singapore, followed closely by Malaysia. Of the five countries, Singapore is the only one with a predominantly urban population, the highest per capita energy consumption and the highest GDP per capita. The overall variation in the level of development may be appreciated by the physical quality of life index (PQLI) scores.

With the exception of Singapore, all the other four countries have between 43 to 44 per cent of their populations under 15 years of age. Such a high proportion of children suggests a heavy demand on general child welfare services. Keeping in mind the lower level of economic development of these countries, it is understandable that child welfare policies and their implementation be seriously restricted to what is commonly believed to be of higher priority, that is, child care services. There are indications that this is indeed the case in Indonesia,¹⁵ Malaysia¹⁶ and the other countries.¹⁷

There appears to be a differential need for child care services among the ASEAN countries; this is hinted by two of the indicators in Table 1. Firstly, Singapore requires services for children who live in an urban city-state while the other countries, particularly Indonesia and Thailand, have a predominance of rural population. The second related difference is the potential demand for child day-care services represented by the type of occupation of female workers. The highest concentration of female workers in Singapore is in manufacturing; the other four countries have the highest concentration of

¹²Baharuddin and Shaharuddin, *op. cit.*

¹³Yamklinfung, *op. cit.*

¹⁴As indicated by B.L. Wilensky, *The Welfare State and Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 50.

¹⁵The National Coordinating Board for Family and Child Welfare, *op. cit.*

¹⁶Baharuddin and Shaharuddin, *op. cit.*; Haji Junid B.H.A.R., *Report of the Registrar General on Population, Births, Deaths and Marriages and Adoptions* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Office, 1972); State of Sabah, *Report of the Department of Welfare Services for the Years 1974-75* (1975); Sarawak Social Welfare Council *Annual Report 1966* (1967).

¹⁷Reubens, *op. cit.*



TABLE 1 POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS FOR THE ASEAN COUNTRIES

Variables ^a	ASEAN Countries				
	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand
1976 Population (in million) ^b	134.7	12.4	44	2.3	43.3
1976 Density (pop/sq. kilometer)	89	70	144	3,784	84
1976 Birth rate per 1,000 population ^b	38	39	41	18.8 ^d	36
1976 Infant mortality rate ^b	125	75	74	11.6 ^d	81
Life expectancy in years	(1973)	(1974)	(1975)	(1970-75)	(1974-75)
Male	46.4	65.0	58	67.4	57.6
Female	48.7	70.3	61	71.8	63.6
1976 Per cent urban population	19	29	35	90	20
1975 Per capita energy consumption (kilograms of coal equivalent)	178	578	326	2,151	284
GDP per capita, US	127	602	355	2,324	323
(Year)	(1973)	(1973)	(1974)	(1974)	(1974)
Female literacy (per cent of females)	49	62	76	67	75
(Year)	(1971)	(1970)	(1970)	(1976)	(1970)
Physical quality of life index (PQLI) ^c	50	59	73	85	70
Percentage of total population under 15 years of age ^e	43.5	43.0	43.0	32.0	44.0
(Year)	(1976)	(1973)	(1975)	(1975)	(1975)
Industry with the highest percentage of female workers ^f	A=62%	A=54%	A=35%	M=36%	A=59%
(Year)	(1971)	(1970)	(1975)	(1977)	(1976)

^a Unless otherwise specified, the figures are from D.L. Nortman and E. Hofstatter, *Population and Family Planning Programs* (New York: Population Council, 1978).

^b Source: J.W. Sewell, *The US and World Development Agenda 1977* (New York: Overseas Development Council, 1977).

^c PQLI is a composite index of three indicators: life expectancy, infant mortality, and literacy. It ranges from Low = 1 to High = 100, with Sweden rating 100. See Sewell (1977 : 149-150) for more details.

^d Department of Statistics, *Yearbook of Statistics Singapore 1976/77* (Singapore: Department of Statistics, 1977).

^e Estimated from United Nations, *Statistical Year Book for Asia and the Pacific* (Bangkok: ESCAP, 1976), pp. 164-455.

^f Estimated from Industrial Labour Organization, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (Geneva: ILO, 1978), p. 44. A: Agriculture; M: Manufacturing.

female workers in agriculture. It is common for married females engaged in agriculture to receive the help of close or extended kin in child care or, alternatively, to bring their children to the fields. The latter alternative is not available for the urban working mother who depends on her relatives' assistance in child care or, frequently, on some fee-for-service option. In other words, the demand for public utilities in child welfare is greater in urban than in rural areas; the experience of European and North American

countries confirms this urban-rural difference.¹⁸

DEMAND FOR CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

A closer estimation of the demand for child welfare services in terms of both case services and public utilities in Singapore is provided in Table 2. Ten indicators are listed which give an approximate idea of the demand for child welfare services, and the fluctuation of such demand over the past eight years. The first indicator of demand is the percentage of the total population under 15 years of age. The figures in Table 2 illustrate the impact of the family planning programme in Singapore: the percentage of population under 15 years has decreased from 37.7 per cent in 1971 to 29.6 per cent in 1978.

TABLE 2 ESTIMATION OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES DEMAND IN SINGAPORE : SELECTED INDICATORS 1971-1978

	1971	1974	1976	1978
1. Percentage of total population under 15 years of age ^a	37.7	34.3	31.8	29.6
2. Infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births ^a	20.1	16.8	11.6	12.6
3. Number of marriages per 1,000 females aged 15-44 years ^a	33	50	38	36
4. Number of divorces per 10,000 females aged 15-44 years ^b	12	13	19	17
5. Total population in children's welfare homes ^c	610	691	640	718 (1977)
6. Number of children in welfare homes per 10,000 population aged 0-19 years ^d	6	7	6	7 (1977)
7. Percentage of total female population aged 15-64 years in the labour force ^a	31.5	39.2	38.4	42.3
8. Average daily attendance at creches per 10,000 children aged 0-4 years ^d	15	19	20	19
9. Percentage of population aged 5-14 years enrolled in primary school ^e	—	64 (1975)	63	63 (1977)
10. Pupil/teacher ratio in primary schools ^a	30	29	28	27

^a Department of Statistics, *Singapore Annual Key Indicators* (Singapore : Singapore Department of Statistics, 1979).

^b Calculated from total divorce figures in (a) above and the population figures in Department of Statistics, *Yearbook of Statistics* (Singapore: Singapore Department of Statistics, 1971-1978).

^c Social Welfare Department, *Annual Reports 1971-1977* (Singapore: Social Welfare Department, 1972-1978).

^d Calculated from figures in (c) above and Department of Statistics, *Yearbook of Statistics* (Singapore: Department of Statistics, 1971-1978).

^e Calculated from figures in Department of Statistics, *Yearbook of Statistics* (Singapore: Department of Statistics, 1971-1978).

¹⁸A.J. Kahn, and S.B. Kamerman, *Not for the Poor Alone: European Social Services* (New York: Harper, 1975).



Merely in terms of numbers, the population of potential recipients of child welfare services is decreasing. On the other hand, the second indicator of demand, *i.e.*, infant mortality rate, has decreased from 20.1 per thousand live births in 1971 to 12.6 per thousand in 1978. This decrease is, among other things, the result of effective health services for expectant mothers, better maternal and child health care services and general improvement in life conditions over the years.

At a different but related level the third indicator of the number of marriages per 1,000 females aged 15 to 44 years illustrates the trend of formation of new families. Although there was an increase in 1974, the number of marriages in proportion to the population has remained relatively stable during the past eight years. Similarly, the trend of family breakdown is relatively low. This trend is represented by the number of divorces per 10,000 females aged 15 to 44 years and it has undergone a modest increase from 12 per 10,000 in 1971 to 17 per 10,000 in 1978.

The above figures and trends are very relevant for our analysis of child welfare services. Research findings identify marital breakdown as a breeding ground for child neglect, child abuse and juvenile delinquency among other child problems.¹⁹ These are basically the type of problems requiring case services from child welfare agencies.

Indicators 5 and 6 in Table 2 provide a more direct illustration of utilisation of case services. The total population in children's welfare homes has remained relatively stable from 1971 to 1978. Indeed, in 1971 there were 6 children in welfare homes for every 10,000 persons below 20 years of age. This figure rose marginally to only 7 in 1978.

The demand for an important type of social public utilities within child welfare, namely, child day-care services, may be gauged by indicators 7 and 8 in Table 2. Female participation in the labour force is a socio-economic phenomenon that affects changes in family roles including child care roles traditionally assigned to the mother.²⁰ Singaporean females aged 15 to 64 and particularly those between 15 to 25, have been joining the labour force in increasing proportions during the past decade. In 1971 31.5 per cent of this population were in the labour force. That proportion increased to 42.3 per cent in 1978.

In urban centres which have ample opportunities for the employment of women, one may expect the demand for child day-care services to increase proportionately with the increase in female labour force participation. In Singapore, the average daily attendance at children day-care centres has indeed increased from 15 per 10,000 children below 5 years of age in 1971,

¹⁹R.S. Kempe and C.H. Kempe, *Child Abuse* (London: Open Books, 1978), and A. Clegg and B. Megson, *Children in Distress* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968).

²⁰W.R. Burr, *Theory Construction and the Sociology of the Family* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), pp. 234-260.



to 19 per 10,000 in 1978. Nevertheless, this increase is lower than expected given the proportion of women in the labour force.

Some intervening factors may clarify the situation. One of the factors that affects the correspondence between female labour force participation and demand for child day-care services is the availability of an alternative and more acceptable solution, namely, the availability of child care by close relatives such as grand-parents. Given the particular social values held with regard to family ties and family roles in Singapore, the availability of grand-parents' help in child care may well be higher here than in other urban and industrialised nations in Europe and North America. This highly regarded alternative may not last for long if Singapore's development follows closely that of most European and North American countries.²¹

Another intervening factor in the association between female labour force participation and demand for child day-care services is also a family-related social value: the belief that child care is the main, if not the exclusive, responsibility of the mother. This value or sex-role stereotype is extended to the expected duties of a wife as well. The outcome of such beliefs is reflected in the differential labour force participation rates of females of different age groups. Singapore's female workers tend to leave their jobs upon marriage or childbirth to dedicate their full attention to their families.

This tendency is clearly identified by available empirical data. The past decade's increase in female labour force participation seen in Table 2 reveals an interesting trend when it is examined by age-specific rates in Table 3. In addition, this Table illustrates the wide difference between male and female rates for the years 1971 and 1978. The peak in participation is reached by females in the 20 to 24 age group. In 1970 53.6 per cent of the women in this age group were working. This rate increased to 73.2 per cent in 1978. Yet, the rate of participation in the labour force begins to decline as age increases among females 25 years old and older.

More interestingly, the age at which the decline begins coincides with the average age of marriage for Singaporean females, namely 24.2 years.²² There is indeed a large difference in labour force participation between single and married females. In 1974 the total labour force participation for single females was 62.9 per cent while it was only 23.0 per cent for married females.²³ In contrast, the corresponding rates for single males was 69.8 per cent and for married males 91.5 per cent.²⁴

The final estimation of demand for child welfare services is provided by indicators 9 and 10 in Table 2. The majority (63 per cent) of children between

²¹Kahn and Kamerman, *Not for the Poor Alone*, op. cit.

²²Department of Statistics, *Yearbook of Statistics Singapore 1977/78* (Singapore: Department of Statistics, 1978), p. 27.

²³Pang Eng Fong, *Labor Force Growth, Utilization and Determinants in Singapore* (Singapore: Economic Research Centre, 1975), p. 17.

²⁴*Ibid.*

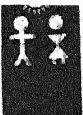


TABLE 3 LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES IN SINGAPORE, 1970 AND 1978

		(In Percentages)	
		1970	1978
Total population 10 years and over	Total	46.6	51.6
	Males	67.6	68.3
	Females	24.6	34.6
15-19 years	Total	49.5	42.3
	Males	55.7	43.1
	Females	43.0	41.4
20-24 years	Total	73.5	82.3
	Males	92.9	91.2
	Females	53.6	73.2
25-29 years	Total	64.5	74.8
	Males	98.0	96.6
	Females	30.8	53.1
30-34 years	Total	60.6	67.8
	Males	98.3	98.2
	Females	22.7	36.8
40-44 years	Total	60.8	64.5
	Males	98.1	98.2
	Females	17.8	30.1
50-54 years	Total	55.0	55.1
	Males	88.1	89.8
	Females	17.5	20.6

SOURCE: Ministry of Finance, *Economic Survey of Singapore 1978* (Singapore: Singapore National Printers, 1979).

5 to 14 years of age are enrolled in school. With a system of two school sessions daily, these children are under school supervision for at least half of the working day. The proportion of children in primary school has not fluctuated significantly during the past four years.

On the other hand, the quality of supervision received in school appears to be improving if the pupil/teacher ratio is accepted as an appropriate indicator. This ratio has declined from 30 pupils per teacher in 1971 to 27 pupils per teacher in 1978. Yet, the other dimension of the enrolment figures indicates that an average of 27 per cent of the children aged 5 to 14 years are beyond the reach of supervision provided by schools for various reasons. These children usually have special needs and require alternative expert supervision and care. Thus, they represent a core group of potential or actual users of child welfare case services.

The preceding discussion of child welfare services demand in Singapore conveys two main features. Firstly, the demand for case services is modest or within expected levels given the size of the population and the stage of socio-



economic development. Secondly, the increasing level of female labour force participation and changing social values indicate that the demand for child welfare services of the public utilities type—especially child day-care—is likely to increase. Furthermore, if the half-day school system is not changed to a full-day school system, day-care services will have to be extended to school children with working parents in order to ameliorate the lack of supervision for the 'latch-key' children.

SUPPLY OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Having dealt with the demand we may now turn to the supply of child welfare services in Singapore. Two main aspects of supply will be considered, the quantitative aspect and the process of selection or access to these services. Quantitatively speaking, two major sources of supply are readily identifiable, namely, the government and the private sectors. Both sectors offer case services and public utilities in child welfare.

The case services found in Singapore are not very different from those found in Europe and the United States. Singapore's case services provide residential and institutional care for abused and destitute children, orphans and delinquent children. There are 21 children's homes for this purpose in Singapore; nine of them are administered by the social welfare department of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the other twelve are run by private voluntary organisations.²⁵

The social welfare department has established three special services for disadvantaged children. These services are the adoption services, the fostering scheme for children below 19 years of age, and the home-makers scheme which is

set up especially to help those families with children (below 14 years of age) who are in need of care because of the absence of their mother through illness, child-birth or other emergencies.²⁶

The dominant principle behind these three schemes is to keep the child in his/her own home or to provide the child with a family and home atmosphere as similar to the real home as possible. Institutional care is used 'only as a last resort'.²⁷ Correspondingly, the child's natural parents, if available, are expected to contribute to their child's support according to their financial situation.

Children who are handicapped and/or sick may receive medical and rehabilitative care from three paediatric units in government hospitals and

²⁵Singapore Council of Social Services, *Child Welfare Services Resource Book* (Singapore: Singapore Council of Social Services, 1978).

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁷*Ibid.*



nine voluntary agencies.²⁸ Counselling, guidance and psychiatric services are provided for children with behavioural problems. Seven government agencies and two private and voluntary institutions deal with these types of services.²⁹

The public utilities within child welfare are represented in Singapore by day-care centres or creches and some recreational and supportive services. Eight of the eleven day-care centres available are administered by the creche section, social welfare department of the Ministry of Social Affairs, while the remaining three have been transferred from the public to the private sector. More specifically, they are now administered by two trade unions, the National Trade Unions Congress (NTUC) and the Singapore Industrial Labour Organisation (SILO).³⁰ This transfer exemplifies the implementation of the government's directive to encourage the private sector to provide child care services. In fact, the private sector has been actively involved in the provision of recreational and supportive services for children. Private organisations run 21 of the 22 existing services of this nature.³¹

The second aspect of supply of child welfare services refers to the processes of selection or accessibility. These processes vary according to the type of service. Who determines whether a child is eligible for institutional care depends, in turn, on the specific child's problem. When a child has been identified as a delinquent for a given offence by the juvenile court, according to the legislation in Singapore, the courts determine the child's need for probation and placement in one of the social welfare department's children's homes or hostels. In special cases the department may contact children's homes run by voluntary organisations to arrange for the admission of a particular child. Payment for the child's maintenance in these institutional homes is not necessary unless the department estimates that the child's family can contribute financially.

In cases of child abuse or neglect that have been investigated and confirmed by the social welfare department, the department may arrange the transfer of the child's custody from the parents to relatives or non-relatives usually through the Foster scheme or the adoption service. There is no single source from which the social welfare department receives complaints of child abuse or neglect. Common channels of information are the police—through complaints by neighbours or relatives—and medical practitioners. The medical social workers' offices in general hospitals in coordination with medical personnel serve as another means of detection of child abuse and neglect.

The voluntary organisations are usually autonomous in determining the

²⁸Singapore Council of Social Services, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 55.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 65-88.

entrance requirements to their children's homes. Normally a voluntary institution is managed by a management committee or board of directors. The functions of the board include the admission and discharge of children. Considerations for admission include, of course, the availability of vacancies and the board's satisfaction with the information on the applicant's need for care.³² Another common criterion for admission is age. Both the government and the voluntary institutions have homes that cater for children of different ages. Similarly, these homes are regularly classified into boys' and girls' homes and hostels.

Accessibility to the foster scheme and the home-maker's scheme is also determined by the department upon investigation of suspected cases of ill-treatment, neglect or other serious problems. The foster scheme began in 1956 as a service for infants only; it was extended to children below 11 years of age in 1962 and later, in 1976 it was further expanded to serve children under 18 years of age.³³ This extension of services

has enabled a child to remain in a foster home until he is able to fend for himself. In such cases, the young person is encouraged to remain in the foster home but to contribute towards his own keep.³⁴

The department selects the foster parents and pay them an allowance ranging from S\$95.00 to S\$115.00 per month for the child's food, clothing and school expenses, depending on the child's school level.³⁵ One major problem of accessibility to the foster scheme service is the lack of suitable foster parents. This service could be provided to more eligible children if more married couples were willing and found suitable to become foster parents.³⁶

The home-maker's scheme faces a similar problem of recruitment of suitable home-makers. The department usually searches for home-makers among the female friends and neighbours of the child's family. Once selected, the home-maker enters the child/children's home and takes care of the children's supervision and regular household chores. The regular allowance paid by the Department to the home-maker ranges from S\$35.00 to S\$80.00 per month depending on the number of children under her care.³⁷

³²Singapore Council of Social Services, "Some Observations of the Delivery of Services in Voluntary, Institutions for Children," Singapore: Singapore Council of Social Services, 1973 (Mimeographed).

³³Social Welfare Department, *Annual Report 1976* (Singapore: Social Welfare Department, 1977), p. 4.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶This remark was made by a Social Welfare Department spokesman in a Radio and Television Singapore (RTS) documentary entitled "A Home Away from Home," broadcasted on RTS Channel 5, on 6 June 1979.

³⁷Social Welfare Department, *Annual Report 1976*, p. 5.

The accessibility to counselling, guidance and psychiatric services normally depends on a variety of referral sources: the police, school teachers, relatives or parents themselves may approach these services directly or may refer the problem child to the appropriate agencies. The child psychiatric clinic of the Ministry of Health has two standard procedures depending on the source of referral. When a child is referred to the clinic by private physicians or when the child's parents request the services of a particular doctor at the clinic, the consultation fee is S\$35 for the first consultation. But when the child is referred to the clinic by the school principal, a government doctor, social worker or psychologist, the fee is nominal, *i.e.*, S\$1.00 for the first consultation.³⁸ The age requirement for access to the clinic's services is below 17 years for non-schooling persons and school children up to pre-university II (equivalent to the sixth year of secondary education).³⁹

According to the working definition of public social utilities presented earlier⁴⁰ child day-care services are provided to consumers who may use them on their own initiative and at their own convenience. In consequence, problems of accessibility to child day-care services are mostly in terms of quantitative adequacy, cost and perceived accessibility. Regarding quantitative adequacy, the eleven existing creches in Singapore appear to be sufficient for the present demand as seen in the average daily attendance in Table 2. In fact, one of the government-run creches was closed down in 1976 because of 'the low attendance and high cost of operating creches'.⁴¹

Cost as a barrier to access varies with the type of child day-care centre. The government creches charge significantly low fees. Their fees range from S\$0.20 to S\$3.00 per day in a sliding scale according to the combined family income per month.⁴² The cost of a private babysitter is normally higher and fluctuates. Unfortunately, the lack of relevant records prevents any detailed comparison of private babysitters and other types of child day-care.

Perhaps another problem of access to child day-care services that deserves mention is perceived accessibility. Perceived accessibility may be defined as the subjective perception a person has of his/her chances of obtaining a given service.⁴³ The person's level of information on the service and his/her belief in the efficacy of the service to solve his/her need, are aspects of perceived accessibility.

Today, in Singapore, an interesting transitional situation is found where seemingly opposed values coexist. Females, both single and married, are becoming increasingly determined to get jobs outside their homes and gain

³⁸Singapore Council of Social Services, *Child Welfare Services Resource Book*, p. 45.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Kahn and Kamerman, *Social Services in International Perspective*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴¹Social Welfare Department, *Annual Report 1976*, p. 18.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³S.R. Quah, 'Accessibility of Modern and Traditional Health Services in Singapore' *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (1977), pp. 333-340.

some economic and social independence from their families and husbands. At the same time, working mothers believe in the superiority of home care for their children and appear to shun the child day-care offered by institutions. The latter tend to be perceived as mass care, impersonal and of lower quality than the affectional and overall better care that parents and grandparents can provide. In other words, there are indications that working mothers are not prepared to use a public social utility for child care due to their subjective perception of the efficacy of creches.

The analysis of child welfare services is a complex task. Considering that the situation in Singapore has parallels in many developing societies, it is hoped that the data and issues discussed above will not only contribute towards a better understanding of child welfare service in Singapore, but also encourage those interested to initiate similar research in the other new states in Asia and Africa.



Child Welfare Developments in Other Countries

Austria

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	7.5	1.8	24.0
2000	8.1	1.7	21.0

THE COMPREHENSIVE reform of the Austrian family law which during the time of the three Kreisky* Administrations since 1970 has been implemented by agreement between all the three parties represented in the Nationalrat (the legislative chamber elected by popular vote) is founded on the consistent basis of an equal relationship between husband and wife in all spheres of family life. Within the framework of this reform too the relations between parents and children have been freshly systematised and there have been taken into consideration concepts and ideas that now, during the International Year of the Child, are finding worldwide response.

What Austria's legislators have been concerned to do is to extend full legal safeguard to the child in respect of its dignity as a human being, to guarantee the inviolability of its person, and to afford an opportunity to express its opinion or to have a say in all matters where this can reasonably be expected from its judgement and understanding.

The law of 30 June 1977 on the reorganisation of the parent-child relationship, which acquired statutory force on 1 January 1978, has brought family law into line with the parents and child basis as it exists in modern society (as well as giving fresh stimuli to a development still in progress) and so formulates the rights of the child that henceforward no difference any longer exists between those born in and out of wedlock. It is understandable that this law, in a century which from the outset has been described as the century of the child, pays far more attention to the personality, it could indeed be termed the humanity, of the child than was done by legislators in earlier periods.

The previously vested right of parents to inflict corporal punishment, for example, has been repealed and in certain fields the child has been granted greater freedom to participate in decisions. This includes the opportunity for a ten-year-old to be heard in court before the latter settles as to which pair of grandparents shall be entrusted the child's education if its

*Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Federal Chancellor, Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party (international equivalent = Social Democrats).

parents for one reason or another are unable to fulfil the responsibility. Moreover a child that has come of age, that is, a fourteen-year-old, can seek court aid if its parents try to impose a career which goes against the grain or which does not seem suited (as it is no rare occurrence when one of the parents wants to see the child following a course that remained thwarted in his/her own case). In both instances the court must give its ruling after careful consideration of the arguments and counter-arguments.

The new Austrian family law leaves no room for inferring anti-authoritarian trends. The new Article 137 of the General Civil Law Code expressly states that "Parents and children must succour one another. Children must show their parents respect." New Article 140 displays distinct traces of parliamentary legal committee work inasmuch as it includes the passage, "Parents must to the best of their ability contribute proportionally to the child's needs as commensurate with their standard of living and due regard for its aptitudes, abilities, inclinations, and development potentialities. The parent in charge of the household where the child is looked after thereby renders its contribution." The Government Bill originally provided that the parents should contribute jointly and severally to the child's education and maintenance. The Legal Committee, though, held that such joint liability was superfluous in view of the prevailing laws on maintenance and that, further more, a proportional obligation does away with the last of the still remaining distinction in that body of law between children born in and out of wedlock. The Government Bill had in addition spoken about the conduct of the household in which the child grows up. The Legal Committee preferred to speak of its care because this demands not only the actual activity in the interest of the child, but extends that duty also to children already grown up but not as yet capable of their own maintenance.

A SAY FOR TEN-YEAR-OLDS

Ten-year-olds also have a say when it is a matter of rules as to visits in cases where parents do not live together and the child's education and care has been entrusted exclusively to the father or mother. In principle the parent to whom the education has not been entrusted is certainly entitled to personal dealings with the child. A court can, however, for the sake of the child, either restrict the practice of this right or prohibit it altogether. Before the decision is taken, the child must 'as far as is expedient' be given a hearing. In this instance there is consequently no obligation to give a hearing as is the case with the child's accommodation outside the parental home. Evidently the danger was meant to be borne in mind that a ten-year-old can be entirely under the influence of one of the two partners to the marriage and that in such circumstances the testimony would hardly be likely to reflect the child's own opinion.

The new Austrian law on the parent-child relationship at any rate stands

out for banning outdated, doctrinaire, and subjective forms of upbringing from the field of education, insofar as this is possible by legal means, and presenting the child with fresh scope for freedom where the desire for assertion of its individual personality can be unimpededly developed.

The Advance of Maintenance Act of 1976, statutorily in force from November 1976, is an important complement to the substantially improved maintenance protection afforded by the preceding law-making activities on guardianship and reorganisation of the illegitimate child's rights. The Act eliminates, in the interest of the child, a weak spot remaining in the provision relating to a wife—the mother's comparative helplessness if a father who is unwilling to pay cannot be traced by her. The Act, hailed internationally as a remarkable piece of innovatory Austrian legislation, prescribes that the state shall help out when defaulting fathers do not meet their maintenance obligations. The prior condition is that an enforcement order shall have been issued without avail against the maintenance defaulter or that that appears fruitless from the start. The child is the entitled party, but the application for grant of the maintenance advances can be made by the mother too. The finding is by the competent guardianship court. The refunding of the advances by the child's father is the concern of the youth offices. During the first two years of the Act's existence 'Father State' has paid out almost 300 million Austrian schillings on maintenance advances. Every month nearly 20,000 children are recipients of this assistance.

In line with the disintegration of the former large family unit, the new law on parent-child relationship likewise loosens those bonds which once automatically subsisted between grandparents and grandchildren. Henceforward grandparents are no longer obliged in all circumstances to pay for the child's maintenance. Hitherto they had, as a matter of legal practice, already been called in when maintenance could be raised only with difficulty from the parents. Now the grandparents' obligation solely arises in cases where the parents are no longer living or they are wholly or partially unable to be gainfully employed. Even then this obligation is not an absolute one inasmuch as it is not meant to endanger the grandparents' own 'appropriate support'. The child suffers no disadvantages thereby. Thanks to the Advance of Maintenance Act the state can, if necessary, on occasion play at being grand-dad.

A further slackening in the ties between grandparents and grandchildren can be seen in the provision for children as soon as they are fourteen being able to enter, so to speak, protest against being handed over to their grandparents if their parents cannot meet their obligations as to upbringing. The parliamentary legal committee which made an alteration to the Government Bill (it envisaged, if all parties agreed, a direct assignment to one pair of grandparents of the responsibilities for care and upbringing) took the thoroughly realistic view that the child's accommodation with other close relations, such as the parents' brothers or sisters, may not infrequently prove more beneficial than residence with grandparents of whom until then it may

not have seen much.

Of importance to a divorced wife too is that parents must continue in the same way as in the past to contribute to the child's care and upbringing. If, as usually happens, the wife is entrusted with the child's upbringing, this also entitles her to act as its legal representative and as the administrator of its property. The undignified state of affairs where the wife had virtually to go begging for her divorced husband's signature, as, for instance, in the case of a passport application on the child's behalf, is thereby ended. The government motion of 1975 had expressly cited this as an outstandingly degrading element. Now a divorced wife can on her own application be appointed by a court to be her child's guardian.

ADOPTION AT NINETEEN

In 1973 already a facilitation of adoption arrangements was proposed in a resolution by the Nationalrat (the legislative chamber elected by popular vote) as one among a series of measures for the protection of embryonic life. New provisions are now incorporated in the law on parent-child relationship. The previous age limits for adoptive parents are formally retained (thirty for the adoptive father, twentyeight for the adoptive mother, but they lose their validity if the married partners together want to adopt a child or the adoptive child is that of one of them. All that the law prescribes is that between adoptive parents and the child to be adopted there must be 'a relationship corresponding to such as subsists between parents and their own children' (Article 180, General Civil Law Code). The lowest age limit for adoption purposes by married people is therefore the attainment of their majority, and in 1973 this was laid down as being nineteen. The adoptive father and mother have to be at least eighteen years older than their adopted child, but if the latter is that of one of them, or merely even related, a difference of sixteen years suffices.

During the course of the overhaul given to the law on parent-child relationship it became manifestly necessary to broaden and to specify more precisely the range of contingencies for financial investment open to the guardian of a minor or other wards. This was especially so because prevailing provisions did not take into account modern principles of investment and were antiquated in their formulation. 'Trust security' had in Austria been synonymous with a hundred per cent safe capital investment. Not that in future such moneys may be any less safely invested, but the range of opportunities for their placement has been substantially increased. The Article in the law dealing with this state that a minor's trust money shall be invested 'without delay, safely, and as far as possible profitably by way of savings deposits, the purchase of securities (receivables), the extension of loans, the acquisition of real estate, or in other manner'.

The aim of all these provisions is that children must, as against the failure



Bulgaria

of a trustee or an institution, enjoy complete protection, and that in the sense of human society's obligation towards the oncoming generation which has in the International Year of the Child been raised to the status of an ethical code among nations.



Bulgaria

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	8.7	1.9	21.8
2000	10.0	2.2	22.0

THE CHILD'S organised education in Bulgaria starts from the nursery school and continues through all the forms and grades of schools. The four-year pre-school course at the kindergarten is a matter of parents' choice. At present 76 per cent of all children attend kindergartens. (It is envisaged that up to 93.5 per cent of the children of pre-school age will attend the kindergartens, full- or half-day, by 1990). Still those who enter the first form without having attended kindergarten before that, feel somewhat confused during their first days at school.

To overcome this difficulty, 45-day temporary kindergartens are organised at almost all primary schools. Ninetysix per cent of the six-year-olds attend such preparatory classes at kindergartens or schools.

The eight-form education is today compulsory for all in Bulgaria, and educational standards, compared to the old schools, are much higher: *e.g.*, a foreign language was introduced as early as the third form, the programme of study was placed on strictly scientific basis and the teaching of all school subjects was rendered more comprehensible to children. The overall process of democratisation of education will be carried through with the introduction of compulsory secondary education by 1980. The principle of consistent scientific norms is valid in the teaching of all subjects and in every form. Thus, for instance, the entire primary school system (1st to 4th form) went through a radical reorganisation, involving all subjects and especially the material taught in mathematics. The teaching of the social sciences, too, is placed on scientific foundations. The study of history provides pupils with knowledge and understanding of the objective laws of historical development, the causes of war, exploitation and oppression.

The newschool programme was introduced, after due experimentation, step by step. It is an endeavour to update education and bring it on a par with the present and future development of the socialist society, of science, technology, production (with which the school has established close ties) and the arts. The experience gained so far and the appraisals made by specialists have



testified to the success of the experiment. What remains to be done is to extend the teaching of art subjects and sports. However, the relatively large number of classes in the school programmes precludes any further extension. Therefore part of the artistic and physical education has been organised in various forms outside the classes.

There are 1,186 primary schools in the country. Nearly half a million pupils (403,764) attend these schools. All questions pertaining to primary education, *viz.*, contents of the subject matter, text books and printed note books, visual and methodological aids, training of teachers and inspectors, are being solved comprehensively. In this way not a single component part can be overlooked or underestimated.

The first form curriculum is easy to master because it is conforming to the possibilities of young children, yet it is not as simple as 'singing and laughing, drawing and dancing'. It provides the essentials for the knowledge to be acquired permanently in the future after a well thought out pattern. The requirements grow with every higher grade.

The subjects taught in primary school are few—a day's programme averages three to four lessons. Reading and writing are followed by mathematics, general knowledge of Bulgaria and the world, music and singing, pictorial arts, handicraft and polytechnical lessons, physical education. Russian is taught twice a week in the third form. Particular attention is given to the classes which must develop the pupils' working habits—the children apply on paper, design or construct models of objects, do embroidery work. The lessons in pictorial arts are aimed at promoting a feeling of beauty and harmony.

After the 3rd form the pupils part with their school mistress who had alone taught them for the past three years. In the 4th form they already have a new teacher for every subject, which is required by the growing complexity of the material. In the 6th form they have the subject of geography and biology.

The intermediary stage of the Bulgarian school system and the so-called junior high schools, are divided into two periods: from the fourth through the sixth form, and the next including the seventh and eighth form. This is done to achieve a more flexible school curriculum. There are in Bulgaria 2,399 intermediary schools and 58 junior high schools attended by a total of 576,637 pupils. All teachers in the primary and intermediary schools are graduates of teachers colleges and universities.

The years from the first to the eighth form are the most intensive period in the development of children as social beings, a period in which they grow out of childhood and gradually mature as future full-fledged citizens. Therefore great care is lavished on the proper education of children over this period, in which a great deal of tact, experience and wisdom is required from the school and the family in order to shape the personalities we intend our children to become.



Denmark

Denmark

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	5.1	1.1	21.6
2000	5.4	1.1	20.4

CHILD AND youth welfare legislation exists to ensure that children and young people can grow up under proper conditions. The responsibility for this rests, at local level, with the special child and youth welfare committees, whose members are appointed by the local authorities from among local residents assumed to have special qualifications for undertaking this work.

The duty of child welfare committees is—in cooperation with other local bodies—to assist in providing the best possible conditions that will enable parents to care for their own children. An important aspect of this work is to encourage local housing authorities to provide housing adequate for the needs and development of children and young people. The welfare committees have to cooperate with school authorities, health authorities, and associations or institutions active on behalf of young people, and it is also part of their duty to ensure that the local authorities have the necessary number of day time institutions: day nurseries, nursery schools, recreation centres, and youth clubs.

Associated with the child and youth welfare committees, the local governments have instituted family guidance services, which are available to parents who may need special assistance. In most places the services are provided by specially trained family guidance officers, backed by expert teams of doctors, psychologists, educationalists and social workers.

The child welfare committees offer assistance in situations where positive difficulties have arisen in children's upbringing, whether due to the parents' conditions or the children's.

Any assistance given in such cases must, as far as possible, be with the consent and approval of parents, and as far as possible in their own homes. The various forms which the assistance may take include the appointment of a supervisory officer, who will personally assist the parents in caring for their child or adolescent, and a recommendation to parents that their child be allowed to attend a day institution. Other measures may include psychological or psychiatric out-patient examination and treatment. An important feature of the assistance offered by welfare committees to parents in their own homes is the provision of domestic help where necessary during the mother's illness, or of more general financial assistance where economic problems threaten to break up the home or give rise to insecure or discordant conditions in the children's upbringing.

Also in situations where the assistance has to be in the form of temporary



accommodation away from home, any such initiative must in principle be regarded as an offer of assistance to the parents. However, the home conditions may be so strained, and appreciation of the need for assistance by the parents so lacking, that outside care may have to be enforced. Any such decision being a grave interference in the affairs of parents and children, welfare committees must first seek the aid of legal, psychological, and educational experts. It is required by law that private care must be sought first. But as the required number of suitable foster homes may be difficult to find, a number of children's and youth homes totalling just over 300 have been set up in various parts of the country. Only a few of these are state establishments, the rest being private self-governing institutions, largely maintained by public grants and minimal payments by parents. The homes can accommodate about 8,000 children, and are classified according to age group and kind of assistance provided.

An important assistance to the child and youth welfare committees, when making decisions with regard to the provision of support, is given by the eight child guidance clinics which have been set up in various parts of the country, and are mainly supported out of public funds.

The national child and youth welfare tribunal is a general appeal court to which parents may complain of any decision made by the welfare committees. The directorate for child and youth welfare supervises the welfare arrangements, including the various welfare institutions. The ultimate administrative responsibility rests with the Ministry of Social Affairs.

SPECIAL RELIEF

Social security schemes cannot meet every need; situations can always arise which lie outside their scope. This applies particularly to the need for assistance in a temporary emergency, assistance to families with unstable supporters, etc. Public assistance is provided in such cases under the Public Relief Act by the local governments, the amount, form, and duration being assessed by the local social authorities. Under earlier legislation, receipt of public assistance entailed a number of unpleasant legal consequences, including loss of franchise and some restriction on the choice of domicile, but these provisions have been abolished in the current law; there is nothing to the modern Danish view degrading in the receipt of assistance when needed.

DANISH SCHOOLS

The important points in the 1975 Act are: parent influence on education is strengthened; education is made comprehensive from the first to the tenth year; pupils may opt for one of a number of final tests or a leaving certificate.

The preamble to the Act states that schools, in association with parents,



should equip their pupils for the attainment of knowledge, skills, methods of work and powers of expression, so as to further each pupil's allround development.

In their whole work, general schools should endeavour to provide such possibilities for experience and self-activity as to enhance each pupil's desire to learn, develop his imagination and exercise his ability for independence judgement and decision-making.

The form of education is in principle comprehensive, but in the three last years (eighth to tenth) it can be either comprehensive or at two levels in the subjects of arithmetic, mathematics, English, German, physics and chemistry, thus enabling pupils to take either a basic or an extended course.

This involves decentralisation and, with it, a strengthening of parent influence. Decision as to whether education in the subjects named shall be comprehensive or at different levels will now be made by the education committee of each educational authority on the recommendation of the parent-teacher association (where there is a parent majority) and the staff councils of the individual schools.

The Ministry of Education has boosted Danish as a subject by increasing the number of lessons in nearly all grades. It did so because in the opinion of many people there had been a deterioration in the teaching of the mother tongue. The strength of public feeling on this matter suggests that parents will apply their influence in furthering the Ministry's intention by including the maximum number of Danish lessons in the timetable.

Denmark has a nine-year period of compulsory education and the public education system is obliged to offer a tenth year, with voluntary attendance. In 1975 a committee was appointed to study proposals for an eleventh voluntary year. Many educationalists and some politicians think that the trend in coming years will be in the direction of a twelve-year basic education, common to all.

It should be stated that Denmark has compulsory education but not compulsory attendance; that is to say, all children of school age must be educated, but not necessarily at publicly provided schools. Parents are free to choose whether they will have their children educated at council or state-run schools or at private ones, and the latter can be established by a group of parents. These private (or free) schools enjoy good conditions, being in receipt of substantial public grants, among other things, towards teachers' salaries. Nevertheless, most children (well over 90 per cent) attend the publicly provided schools.

CARE OF THE HANDICAPPED

Special care, which is the responsibility of the state, is provided for mentally retarded, mentally handicapped, epileptic, blind and visually handicapped, and physically handicapped persons plus persons who are deaf or



have reduced hearing and those with speech defects.

The care is provided chiefly through state or state-approved institutions, deficits being made up by the state. A special organisation has been developed for each branch of care. Apart from the care of the insane, which is under the Ministry of the Interior, all of these special welfare services are the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs, with the Directorate for Rehabilitation and Welfare as the central administrative body.

Special care covers a range of medical, educational, and social provisions and includes special treatment, special education, vocational training, foster care, personal guidance, maintenance support, etc., all based on the voluntary principle.



German Democratic Republic

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	16.80	3.73	22.1
2000	18.23	3.70	20.3

EVER SINCE the GDR was founded thirty years ago, measures to protect and advance the wellbeing of mother and child have been part and parcel of its government policy

In the very first year after its founding the Law on the Protection of Mother and Child and the Rights of Women was enacted. That marked the start of a broad movement of social forces for the benefit of the rising generation, reflected, for instance, in a systematic improvement of pre-natal care, in the completion of the system of care for both healthy and sick children, in the careful planning of accommodation at creches, and many other things. Here are some figures to illustrate how these legal provisions have since become tangible reality.

Thirty years ago 75,000 children annually caught measles. That number has dropped to 1,000. Thirty years ago 78 in 1,000 children died before they were one year old. That number has dwindled to 13. The systematic implementation of the social policy programme adopted in 1971 and 1976 is geared to affording to children optimum conditions within the family and in their social environment. The supervision of healthy children, medical attendance on sick children and, where indicated, after-care, are fully assured for all children, with special attention being given to specific medical requirements and the special characteristics of a child's development. Any kind of medical consultation or treatment as well as attendant prophylactic or therapeutical measures that may be required, including medical remedies and resources as well as medicaments, are free of charge. Care for children susceptible to



disease, and especially for disabled or severely handicapped children, is regulated by law. Parents of such children are entitled to additional material and financial benefits. Government-funded research projects provide the required scientific groundwork of children's health protection. New scientific findings are speedily applied in medical practice. The health care programme includes health protection schemes that go beyond medical attendance proper. Thus, health education is an integral part of that programme.

In the effort to continue implementing the five-year plan for the development of the country's national economy from 1976 to 1980 (which was adopted by the Ninth SED Congress and approved by the People's Chamber), the 1979 national economic plan again provides for far-reaching concrete measures to further raise the material living standard and cultural level of the people. The plan envisages further improvements in medical care for mother and child, an increase in the number of places with creches and kindergartens, the construction of new schools and gymnasiums, the expansion of the existing and the creation of new holiday facilities for children, and many similar measures. The state budget allocates sizable funds for such purposes.

In 1978, 232,136 children were born in the GDR, *i.e.*, 8,984 more than the preceding year. As part of the effort to systematically improve the comprehensive medical protection of mother and child, over 200 million marks were set aside in maternity benefits in 1977. The use of up-to-date methods in obstetrics and pre-natal care lowered maternal mortality to 1.8 per 10,000 births in 1978, *i.e.*, well short of 16.5, the figure recorded back in 1952. Infant mortality in the GDR declined to 13 per 1,000 live births. Out of 1,000 children under three, 605 are cared for in creches. For this purpose, the government allocated 643 million marks in 1978 alone.

The GDR has more than 3,000 pediatricians. There is a special institute of children and youth hygiene which lays the scientific groundwork for future efforts in the health protection of children and young people. Specialists of various disciplines of the medical profession, medium medical personnel, psychologists, sociologists and educationists have an equal share in the effort to solve the tasks involved.

SCHOOL EDUCATION IN GDR

The constitution of the GDR provides as follows:

Every citizen of the German Democratic Republic has an equal right to education. Educational facilities are open to all. The integrated socialist educational system guarantees every citizen a continuous socialist education, training, and higher training.

In the German Democratic Republic general ten-year secondary schooling is compulsory; this is provided by the ten-year general polytechnical secondary school.



Free from exploitation, oppression and economic dependence, every citizen has equal rights and manifold opportunities to develop his abilities to the full extent and to unfold his talents in socialist society unhindered, in free decision, for the welfare of society and for his own benefit. Thus, he puts into practice the freedom and dignity of his personality.

These provisions are in accordance with the demand for equal educational opportunities for all children as laid down in the UN declaration of the rights of the child.

The educational system in the GDR has a uniform structure. All schools are public and secular. Schooling is free of charge. A basic principle throughout the educational system is the linking of education and training with everyday life, theory with practice, learning with productive work, and scientific instruction with training.

The institutions of public education work closely together with parents, enterprises and social organisations, in particular of the children's and youth organisations. Acting on behalf of all parents, over 680,000 elected parents committee members closely collaborate with the educational staff of schools.

The component parts of the GDR educational system are: the institutions of pre-school education, the ten-year general polytechnical secondary schools, the vocational training facilities, the educational establishments qualifying for entry into university, the technical schools, colleges and universities. The set-up is one that allows everybody at whatever stage to pass on to the next higher level of education up to university or college.

Children from 3 years of age are cared for in kindergartens until they enter school. Games and playing with toys are the principal forms of nursery-school education. Presently, 90 in 100 children go to a kindergarten. By 1980, it will be possible for all children of pre-school age to attend a kindergarten, if their parents so wish.

In 1978, the GDR had 12,000 kindergartens and weekly homes for pre-school children, which employ over 73,000 nursery-school teachers. Attendance of kindergartens is free of charge. Parents make only a small contribution toward the cost of meals, *i.e.*, 0.35 marks per day per child. Large families and single mothers and fathers with three children pay less or nothing at all. Government spending on each place in a public kindergarten amounted to 1,500 marks in 1977.

Nursery-school teachers qualify by taking a three-year course at one of the GDR's 18 nursery-school teacher training institutes.

The ten-class general polytechnical school is the basic type of school in the GDR's education system because it enables all children to acquire a high standard of general education, thus laying the foundation of the realisation of all the potentialities of their personality.

Apart from instruction in the traditional subjects, pupils acquire also basic knowledge of work in general production, technology and economics



German Democratic Republic

as well as basic skills.

At present, the GDR's 6,000 secondary schools are attended by more than 2.5 million children. Over 200,000 teachers work there in some 110,000 class rooms, almost 54,000 of which are special-subject cabinets and 9,000 workshops. Material conditions and staff qualification at secondary schools have steadily improved during the last few years.

One-third of all class rooms existing at present have been built during the past ten years. Schools have been equipped with modern teaching aids worth 1,200 million marks.

Polytechnical lessons are given by about 8,800 fulltime and 25,000 part-time instructors, apprentice instructors and skilled workers at over 5,000 enterprises in industry and agriculture. To this end, over 1,400 polytechnical centres with some 3,400 special-subject rooms have been established.

Pupils have multiple opportunities to apply and deepen the knowledge and skills acquired at school according to their inclinations, interests and talents. For instance, students attending classes 9-10 have a wide choice of extra-curricular study groups specialising in 32 subjects, which include electronics, microbiology, astronomy, astronautics, environmental policy, literature and visual arts. Such interest groups are run by teachers or other qualified personnel, and are attended by almost 50 per cent of all pupils.

Secondary schools include an adequate number of specialised schools and classes which have a twofold objective. Firstly, they are designed to promote, at an early stage, pupils with special skills and talents. Secondly, they help meet the demand for highly qualified specialists needed in the economy, in science and elsewhere. Graduates receive the ten-class secondary school-leaving certificate or a school-leaving certificate qualifying for admission to an institute of higher learning. Instruction in all subjects is based on secondary school syllabi. In the special subjects the subject matter taught is more comprehensive and the number of lessons greater.

CARE OF THE HANDICAPPED

Children and youth who are physically or mentally severely disabled are given optimum opportunities of training and education in special schools according to what their condition permits them to do. There are 550 special schools for children and youth with impaired hearing or sight, with speech defects, for the mentally retarded and physically handicapped. They offer favourable conditions to develop their personality and help them to meet the requirement of life. Where necessary, special schools are complemented by pre-school institutions, advisory centres, vocational training classes and boarding schools. Special care for and assistance to disabled children in education, training and extra-curricular activities are ensured through the employment of specially-trained teaching staff and the provision of specific curricula, textbooks and teaching aids.

As required by law, all leavers of special schools are guaranteed an appropriate form of vocational training and a suitable job. Educational and other programmes at school are complemented by meaningful and interesting extra-curricular activities.

□

Germany, Federal Republic of

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	61.80	13.47	21.8
2000	66.24	13.57	20.5

THE TERRITORY of the Federal Republic of Germany including West Berlin has an area of 248,576 sq. kms. At the end of 1972 there was over 61 million people in this territory.

The population's age structure matters greatly in providing for the vital needs of the people. The social requirements of the various age groups differ considerably. According to the 1971 statistics the different age groups of the total population of the Federal territory were in the following proportion:

Young generation (up to age of 21)	19 million (31 per cent)
Gainfully employed generation (21 to 65 years old)	34 million (56 per cent)
Older generation (65 and over)	8 million (13 per cent)

The Federal Republic's constitutional order is laid down in the Basic Law promulgated on May 23, 1949. Although the Basic Law has undergone many modifications, it has remained unchanged in essence. The Basic Law is the foundation of the State system and also of the social services system. It contains important fundamental conceptions about man, about human society and the state community. It is the platform from which is determined the relationship between the centre (Bund) and the federating states (Laender), between the state and society, as well as the distribution of social responsibilities and burdens.

Marriage and family are protected by the state system. It is the natural right of parents to care for and educate their children. Only by law may children be separated from their parents, *i.e.*, if those responsible for ensuring their education fail or if there is a danger of neglect for other reasons. The priority of parental responsibility is not only protected against state interference; the state offers considerable positive help to strengthen the exercise of parental responsibility. This is done chiefly within the framework of the children's and young persons' welfare services.



It was a special concern of the Basic Law to secure by legislation for illegitimate children the same conditions for physical and psychological development and for their position in society as are enjoyed by legitimate children. This claim has been fulfilled in the meantime by the legislature.

In the Federal Republic the education and training system can be understood only in the light of the concept of man as envisaged in the Basic Law and of the liberal social system. The care and education of children are regarded as the natural right of the parents and as their duty. Here the state has a twofold function. On the one hand it ensures that the right and duty to educate is exercised by the parents or other persons entitled to do so. The state safeguards education only when it is insufficient, and it does so through the good offices of the children's and young persons' welfare services. On the other hand, parents by themselves nowadays are frequently unable for many reasons to discharge the duty of education. In these cases the state must create the prerequisites for a sound development of the young people.

SCHOOL AND EDUCATION

The school and educational system in the Federal Republic is the task of the Laender. As the Bund does not possess independent powers in cultural and educational matters, there is no uniform regulation of the school and educational system in the Federal Republic, though it will develop increasingly uniform characteristics owing to joint educational planning on the part of Bund and Laender. Without prejudice to the federative order, a need for more intensive coordination of the school and educational systems of the Laender has arisen, not least in view of the mobility of the population.

In all Federal Laender there exists a general education and a vocational school system. In accordance with the Laender constitutions and the school laws it is generally compulsory to attend at least an elementary and a vocational school (elementary and vocational school attendance obligation). Compulsory school attendance begins with the completion of the sixth year and lasts 9 years. To start with, every child has, during the first four years, to attend the junior elementary school. There, all children are instructed together. Attendance at a junior elementary school is followed by that at the senior elementary school, which is compulsory for all children who do not change over to a secondary school. Denominational schools which were widespread in the Federal Laender until a short while ago, have been replaced of late by non-denominational schools in agreement with the churches under certain conditions.

After the completion of four years of primary school education, the parents have a choice. They can either leave their children in the elementary school (senior school) or send them to secondary schools. The 'gymnasien' (a kind of grammar school) are regarded as such. Their purpose is to impart an extensive fundamental education which, as a rule, stretches over nine



school years. It ends with the matriculation examination which qualifies for university attendance. 'Gymnasien' with a vocational slant are the business 'gymnasien' (Wirtschaftsgymnasien) and technical 'gymnasien'. A lower grade secondary school, the intermediate school (Mittelschule) also called 'Realschule', is a category in between elementary school and 'gymnasium'. It is also built upon the primary school basis, extends generally over six school years, and is intended to provide an education for so-called medium-grade jobs in administration, trade and industry and technology.

Special schools have been set up for children who are so handicapped physically, mentally or emotionally that they cannot follow the general tuition given in the elementary schools. The objective of these special schools is to enable children by specific care and support to attend ordinary schools and, in the case of severe handicaps, to give them the best possible preparation for life and employment. The 'special school system' is extremely differentiated so as to allow for a better adjustment to handicaps. It is in the process of being extended, particularly in rural areas. For school age children who live in homes for the handicapped, special hostel schools are usually provided.

The 1922 Act on Public Assistance for Minors, particularly in the versions of the 1961 and 1970 amendments, comprises under the designation 'Youth Welfare Services' (Jugendhilfe) all the forms of help required by young persons—when not at school or at work—for their education and the full unfolding of their personality, and which require the cooperation of the state. Hence this Act is the most important legal basis of the youth welfare service.

THE YOUNG PERSON'S RIGHT TO EDUCATION AND ASSISTANCE

In accordance with the above-mentioned Act every young person has a right to be educated to achieve physical, mental and social fitness. This right to education should not be viewed only in the light of the parental duty to educate, but rather as the young person's own right, under the Basic Law, to the full development of his personality and thus also to his own right to education. In present day society the young person's requirements for developing his personality fully and for becoming socially efficient can no longer be met by the parents alone. The state and society together fulfil important complementary tasks in bringing about a healthy development and maturing of the young people. Essential general foundations for education and training are provided in the schools and occupational training establishments. However, beyond this, in forming his personality a young person needs to be given further assistance to develop and mature on his own and also to master many difficulties in his development. The youth welfare services have been given the task of providing this assistance. Young people have a right to this assistance. In the course of the reform of the Act on Public Assistance for Minors efforts



are being made to put this right into practice by admitting a claim to certain benefits of the Youth Welfare Services (298).

AIMS OF YOUTH WELFARE SERVICES

The 1922 Act on Public Assistance for Minors arose first of all from the urgent necessity of remedying educational distress due chiefly to lack of parental help in children's education. The Act thus lays down that the youth welfare services must act insofar as the child's claim to education by the family is not fulfilled. Thus the youth welfare service was originally envisaged primarily as a protection for young people. But today the efforts of the youth welfare services are in no way confined only to alleviating such individual distress situations. Rather they extend to all young persons who need help or support even if their parental home is intact.

The extended field of the youth welfare services covers: (a) protection of foster children; (b) cooperation in the guardianship system; (c) curatorship and official guardianship for illegitimate children; (d) assistance in cases education is at risk or is impaired (child guidance, educational advisory guardianship, voluntary educational assistance, etc.); (e) jurisdiction over juveniles and assistance to juvenile courts; and (f) help in probation service of the young offender. □

Japan

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	111.57	27.34	24.5
2000	132.93	26.65	20.0

SOcial DISORDERS immediately following World War II gave rise to various social problems such as the disruption of homes and family ties, and an increase in the number of vagrant children. Systematic programmes for the protection of children were urgently needed. Hence the Child Welfare Law was enacted in 1947. The event was epoch-making in the field of child welfare in this country in that it discarded the old definition of child welfare as merely a relief to the needy and proclaimed child welfare programme as an attempt to promote welfare of all the children in healthy development into adulthood. In 1951, the children's charter came into existence to serve as a torch light in the field of child welfare.

In the Child Welfare Law the following three points are given as the basis of child welfare:

1. All people shall endeavour to bring up their children so that the



children will have healthy minds and bodies.

2. Each child shall have an opportunity for security of life and the necessities of life.
3. The state and local public bodies as well as the guardians of the children shall be responsible for children's healthy growth in mind and body.

The administration of the Child Welfare Law is vested in the Children and Families Bureau of the Ministry of Health and Welfare in the National Government, and the Women's and Minors' Section of the Welfare Department in each prefectural and local government. To work with the government on various levels, there are:

Central Child Welfare Council

The Central Child Welfare Council and the Prefectural Child Welfare Councils have been established respectively in the National Government and in each prefectural government in order to evaluate and study programmes and needs of children, as well as expectant and nursing mothers. The Councils may answer inquiries from, or express opinions to the Minister of Health and Welfare, or their prefectural governors in policy-making. The Councils may make recommendation in planning welfare programmes and in their coordination. Local governmental bodies such as cities and towns may establish their own councils.

Child Guidance Centre

As of May 1977, there are 153 child guidance centres throughout the country established by prefectures and designated cities. In the centres services for counselling, adoption, and institutional placement are offered. There are also facilities for detention for those children who are under observation and study. During the fiscal year of 1977, the number of cases received at the centres was 246,992. There are professional workers of many disciplines: medical doctors, psychologists, social workers and others. The social workers working there are called Child Welfare Officers.

Child Welfare Officers

The child welfare officer is to give professional counselling service to children, expectant and nursing mothers in the child guidance centre. They are directly responsible for diagnosis and treatment. Their qualifications are prescribed by the law. The total number of child welfare officers is 991 in May 1977.

Volunteer Workers in Child Welfare

The volunteer worker in child welfare cooperates with the child welfare officer and the welfare secretary in the local community. The volunteer



worker in child welfare concurrently assumes the duty of a volunteer worker in child services (Minsei-iin). There are about 160,000 volunteer workers as such throughout the country.

Welfare Secretaries

Welfare secretaries also assume responsibility for the welfare of children in their assigned community as a part of their duty. They conduct investigations on the living environment of individual children and offer counselling services.

PROGRAMMES

The programmes for child welfare may be divided into two categories: programmes for children in need of protection and preventive programmes for the healthy development of children and mothers.

Programmes for Children in Need of Protection

Any person discovering an orphan or vagrant child, a child suffering from ill-treatment, or in any other similar situation, shall report the case to a child guidance centre or a welfare office. The child guidance centre shall, depending upon the findings of an investigation and the diagnosis regarding the problems of such children and their families, recommend any of the following procedures:

1. Advise the child's guardian and the child, or make them sign oaths that proper care be taken at once.
2. Appoint a guardian for the child or place the child under the supervision of a child welfare officer, volunteer worker in child welfare, or welfare secretary.
3. Place the child in a foster home, or with foster parents primarily responsible for his vocational training.
4. Place the child in a child welfare institution.
5. Recommend medical treatment at a designated medical agency, or supply orthopaedic appliances if necessary.
6. Recommend that a child be admitted to a day nursery.

Preventive Programmes

For the purpose of prevention of infant mortality, various measures have been taken. Every expectant mother is required by law to report to the office of the mayor of the local municipality. The prefectural governor's office shall then issue a maternal and child handbook to her. She may use free of charge the various services offered by a local health centre such as regular health examinations, counselling on diet, study programmes for maternity care, and so on. After the 2nd World War many mothers' groups have been

organised with the help of the local government to learn how to take care of their children.

In 1958 a new project of establishing maternal child health centres was started in selected areas. This was in fact an enforcement to the existing maternal and child health activities by the local health centres. The workload of such health centres in the field of public health had been so much increased that it was considered advisable to create special centres to deal with maternal health. The physical facilities of such new centres include those for health guidance, family planning advice, nutrition guidance, and facilities for delivery with about five beds. The delivery facilities are for the purpose of providing care for those who are in need and not able to pay for themselves. As of March, 1978, there are 680 centres as such in the country.

Other activities for maternal and child health include health examination for one and half-year-old and three-years-old children at the local health centres, close examination on mental development of three-years-old children at the child guidance centres, provision of medical care for children, etc.

Another aspect of preventive measures in child welfare includes an effort to eliminate unhealthy literature for juveniles. The Central Child Welfare Council is given the authority to make recommendations on films, books, and other cultural materials.

There is a growing interest among concerned citizens, especially in urban areas, in providing healthy recreational activities for children. Children's clubs and groups are being formed in various communities under the voluntary leadership of interested adults and young people, and their numbers are increasing rapidly. There is a great need to promote healthy activities for children by providing them with adequate leadership and facilities.

Some of the outstanding youth organisations in this country include: boy scouts, girl scouts, junior Red Cross, 4-H clubs, ocean youth association, YMCA, YWCA, and others.

It is widely recognised that every child needs to be in a family where he belongs, and to be reared by his own parents. But in cases when a child must be separated from his natural family because of various circumstances, measures must be taken to accommodate him either in an institution, a foster home, or a vocational guidance foster home. In each case, the placement must be approved by the prefectural governor who is legally authorised to make the decision. A foster home is a home where a couple and a child acquire all the responsibilities and privileges of the natural child-parent relationship. Foster parents may hope to adopt the child in future, or they may want to do only what is possible for his immediate welfare. The number of foster homes registered was 9,714 in March 1978, and 2,980 homes took care of 3,557 children. From 1974 fiscal year short term foster care programme was developed for the need of short term foster care caused by mother's in-hospital treatment, etc. The number of short term foster homes registered in



March 1978 was 584 and 183 children were taken care of. These placements are supervised by child welfare officers.

CHILD WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

Children who are orphans, who are not able to live with their parents, and who are not under normal parental care because of parents' having to work for living, need special assistance. Children with physical or mental handicap also need special care. As far as possible they are kept at their own homes and are given financial assistance from local governments and counselling service by child guidance centres. At the same time, institutional care is also provided whenever necessary or advisable.

As of October 1977, there were seventeen types of child welfare institutions as listed in the next page.

Children's Allowance Law passed the Diet in May, 1971 and was enacted on January 1, 1972. This was one of the most important systems in social security which remained to be enacted, and voices for it had been raised frequently and strongly among the people.

The purpose of this Law is to contribute to the stability of family life and to promote the healthy bringing-up of children under the age of 15, who belong to the families with three or more children under the age of 18.

Children's allowance of Yen 5,000 a month per child except for two children (as from October 1978, Yen 6,000 for those of low income families) is granted to the person who takes care of and lives together in one household with three or more children.

But, for those persons whose income is over the amount prescribed by the Cabinet Order according to the number of dependents, this allowance is not granted.

The cost necessary for this allowance is met by: for the dependents of the employee, 70 per cent by the contribution from employers, 20 per cent from the national treasury, 5 per cent each from prefecture, and city, town or village; for the dependent of the non-employee, four-sixth of the cost by the national treasury, and one-sixth each by the prefecture, and city, town or village.

But, for the dependent of a public employee, the cost is met by either the central government, the local government, or public corporation.

This system became fully effective from the fiscal year 1974 and before that date the person covered by this Law was extended gradually; and as from January 1, 1972, the person covered was 5 years old or less; and as from April 1, 1973, 10 years old or less.



CHILD WELFARE INSTITUTIONS IN JAPAN

(as of October, 1977)

	<i>Type of Institutions</i>	<i>Number of Institutions</i>	<i>Providing for</i>
Maternity Home	—For expectant mothers who are unable to provide for their own care.	992	7,614
Baby Home	—For the care of infants under one year of age.	125	4,239
Mothers' Home	—For widows with children	401	7,979
Day Nursery	—To give daily care to infants and preschool children while their parents are at work.	19,794	1,895,320
Children's Centre	—To give informal education and recreation.	2,325	—
Children's Home	—To protect and care for children without guardians, or those who have been maltreated.	530	35,110
Home for Mentally Retarded Children	—To give care and education to mentally retarded children.	352	26,237
Mentally Retarded Children's Day Care Centre	—To give daily care to the mentally retarded who come from their own homes.	200	7,545
Home for Blind Children	—To give care and education to totally or partially blind children.	32	1,721
Home for Deaf and Dumb Children	—To give care and education to the deaf and mute, or those with severe hearing difficulties.	36	2,247
Home for Physically Weak Children	—To provide physically weak children with proper environment and good physical care.	32	1,944
Hospital-Home for Crippled Children	—To give them medical treatment, physical therapy, and education.	76	9,614
Physically Handicapped Children's Day-Care Centre	—To give daily care to the crippled who come from their own homes.	49	2,065
Hospital-Home for Severely Handicapped Children	—To give the special care to severely physically and mentally double-handicapped children.	45	4,865
Home for Emotionally Disturbed Children	—To aim at treatment of emotionally disturbed children mainly under 12 years of age who show antisocial, predelinquent, a-social or neurotic behaviour.	10	500
Home for Juvenile Training & Education	—To train and guide juvenile delinquents, or potential juvenile delinquents.	58	5,283
Children's Playground	—To give children the places to play.	3,780	—





The Netherlands

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	13.65	3.51	25.7
2000	16.01	3.50	21.9

THERE IS a long history of Dutch social security; provisions on an overall national basis go back to the turn of the century. The principle is now established that adequate and comprehensive legal social security provisions must be maintained to cover the entire population, or at least all residents. The history, organisation, financing and operations of the component schemes are quite complex. But briefly we can state that adequate security is provided against incapacity for work, children and sickness expenses, unemployment and old age retirement, and for widows and orphans.

There are almost 4.5 million persons under age in this country. Child care and protection is involved with about 45,000 children.

There are different ways by which a child comes into care or under protection but this is almost always *via* judicial channels. Group names came into existence over the years. Thus one speaks of:

1. children under guardianship (c. 18.300);
2. children under family guardianship (c. 19.000); and
3. juvenile offenders which have been punished (c. 5000).

In order to obtain a clear view, the three groups of children under care and protection are dealt with separately here.

During their minority all Netherlands children are subject to authority. This authority over persons of under age presents itself in two ways: parental rights or guardianship. As long as the situation in a family is normal, as long as no extraordinary circumstances occur—and fortunately this is the case with the overwhelming majority of our families—the children are under the parental rights. This means that both parents take care of their children and educate them, and that the father administers any property the child may have. He represents the child with third parties.

The parental authority comes to an end, whenever the parents' marriage is dissolved. Upon the death of one of the spouses, or in case of divorce, the marriage no longer exists, which ends the parental rights at the same time.

From then on, the minor children of a family, subjected to such a change, are placed under guardianship. After the death of one parent the guardianship is entrusted to the surviving parent; after divorce, the judge appoints one of the two parents to be guardian. Although this group of children from defective families are the victims of circumstances, they are,



nevertheless, not considered children under care and protection; they are not 'children under guardianship' in the sense this word has acquired in practice.

We only speak of children under guardianship if it concerns minors whose parents were deprived of parental rights by the government. These minor children are placed under the guardianship of a third party. As a rule guardianship societies are charged with these guardianships.

CHILDREN UNDER FAMILY GUARDIANSHIP

Those concerned with child care and protection have learned much from the application of civil law measures by virtue of which parents lose their rights and children are reared as children under guardianship. Over the years, a keener understanding has developed as to the cases presenting themselves for help under the existing legal rules. It was also discovered that a category of children exists whose parents were not to be considered for release or removal, but who were, all the same, in an unfavourable situation, one in which there is the threat of drifting from bad to worse. So as to refine the existing system, 1921 saw supervision incorporated into the law (in force in 1922), placing these minors within the reach of the judiciary.

Supervision, sometimes also called family guardianship (unfortunately the latter word is confusing because it suggests that the whole family is under supervision), can be ordered, if a child is threatened with moral or physical danger. The measure of supervision implies that the child will be assigned a family guardian for the period of one year. The family guardian will, besides the parents—who keep their parental rights—give leadership to the child. The intention is that, through the positive collaboration of the family guardian, parents and child, the moral and physical danger will be pushed back and, if possible, will even disappear entirely.

The children under official supervision are called children under family guardianship; for some years they have contributed the biggest category of children under care and protection. The attractive feature of supervision is that, in principle, children and parents can stay together during the period of supervision, and parental rights are not taken away. However, it is not always easy for parents of supervised children to accept the authority of a family guardian. It is understandable that the family guardian concerned must have patience and tact.

The measure of family guardianship is decreed after a civil law procedure; this may be the case where the child is endangered, without the child himself having committed a punishable act. This also applies, if the child is not yet 12 years of age, for 12 years is the age at which children's penal law can be applied.

Supervision by virtue of penal law is imposed when the punishable act shows a symptom of the attitude in life of the — mostly somewhat older—



child which harbours dangers for the future. We leave the 'children dealt with under civil law' here and arrive at the third category of children, *viz.*, those whose criminal prosecution is considered.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS

For the sake of clarity some rounded figures should be mentioned here. Besides more than 4,000 minors, found guilty of an offence, there are more than 5,000 children who are suspected offenders, but who are not prosecuted, and this on a yearly basis.

About 25,000 children are annually found guilty of a law violation, whereas about 7,500 minors are suspects in such cases, without being prosecuted. It is interesting to note these figures as a matter of comparison; it would, however, go too far to brand these thousands of young offenders as children under care and protection. Of course, among them one finds a number guilty of serious offences, such as hooliganism or drunkenness in public. However, the great majority of them commit traffic offences, which in themselves do not make a child a subject for child care and protection. Let us, therefore, return to that group of more than 4,000 children found guilty of an offence.

Contrary to the children under guardianship and family guardianship, who may be at any age between 0 and 21 years, we find in the category of children committed by the courts only those between 12 and 18 years. If the personality of the youthful offender would seem to make it preferable, a penalty or correctional measure according to the Children's Acts may be imposed until the age of 21. Apart from the above, it is also possible in special cases that a minor, over 16 years of age, stands trial on the basis of the penal law for adults. Naturally, this exception is only applied if the young person concerned has committed a very serious crime and at the same time does not any longer show anything childlike in the make-up of his personality.

The juvenile offenders comprise the last group of children under care and protection. However, they are not a homogeneous group, for the offences they commit are dissimilar, although the offences against property dominate in children's criminality; their personal circumstances are different and, finally, there exists an extensive range of trial possibilities.

Thus the children's judge has the choice of punishment or of taking other measures. It is not a simple matter to say when a juvenile delinquent will receive punishment or when other measures will be taken against him. Very generally, one may say that punishment is meted out, when a short, firm and limited correction seems in order. The idea of other legal measures is to change the child's whole outlook on life. Therefore, other measures have a less defined character than punishment. In practice, they are sometimes experienced as heavier than punishment, contrary to what one would expect from the word 'measure'.

The system of punishment and other measures relative to juveniles has been embodied in the law since 1901, and became operative in 1905.

ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT

The application of the Children's Acts and the regulations attached thereto belong to the field of activities of the Ministry of Justice. The directorate of child care and protection of this Ministry is particularly charged with this work. The different facets of the duties of this directorate are: a supervisory duty, a subsidising duty, and an executive function of its own.

Each district has a council for child care and protection, consisting of a council, composed of non-salaried members, appointed by the Crown, and a bureau with salaried professional personnel. The council's secretary is also the director of the bureau. He or she is the tie between the policy-making part of the council for child care and protection, and its executive part.

It is intended that the council creates a centre of child care and protection within the district, from which a stimulating counselling force emanates. Unfortunately, at this moment the councils are so overburdened by their other duties, that the central function has not been able to prosper fully. The council compiles informative reports to the courts. These reports may relate to matters of civil law, such as the removal or release of parental rights or guardianship, the custody of a child after divorce, supervision or adoption, etc., but the council also submits its reports in penal cases.

The council may appear as a party in the action, by which maintenance contributions are requested (*e.g.*, on behalf of children, after the parents' divorce, or in a paternity suit). Moreover, the council has an important task in collecting these funds.

Of all other duties performed by the councils, the temporary care of children, entrusted to the council for child care and protection by the court or the public prosecutor, should be mentioned (c. 2000 children).

The council is a kind of gateway-building. All minors have to pass through this gateway before they are 'children in care and protection'. All private institutions in this field have contacts with the council. □

Tanzania

	Total Population	Children (0-14)	Per cent
	(in million)		
1975	14.70	6.90	46.9
2000	34.00	15.50	45.6

IN TANZANIA, in the home, children are seen as the responsibility of the mother. Very often the father does not involve himself in their

up-bringing. At government level, children are seen as the responsibility of certain ministries; either the Ministry of National Education or the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. Tanzania is yet to recognise in practice that children are the responsibility of the whole nation. The operations of every ministry affect the children, and there is need to take care that the state's activities take the needs of the children into account.

For example, when Tanzania decides on a scheme to expand the cultivation of cash crops in villages, it is important to ask whether in so doing the cultivation of millet, peas or groundnuts which have previously ensured good health for the children will be reduced. And if such a reduction in food growing is likely, is the country quite sure that the extra money earned from cash crops will be spent on buying good food for the children, rather than on more cattle, or on getting drunk? If such a danger exists, how to adjust the programme?

In village Butima, for instance, they are producing and selling milk to a dairy plant. But it is beginning to appear that they have started to sell all the milk. They are not keeping some for use at home, especially for the use of the children. This mistake has yet to be corrected.

Again, when the state decides to establish an industry, it is not asked whether working mothers will find it easier to look after their small children if there is one large factory or two small ones.

From earliest times it has been known that care of the child begins with the care for the mother. Therefore consideration of a woman's health traditionally began even before conception, because it was realised that frequent pregnancies harmed the health of both the mother and the children. The importance of child spacing was not discovered by UMATI. It has been known for a very long time. (UMATI is the local organisation for family planning and responsible parenthood).

Similarly, Tanzanians knew the importance of good food for expectant and lactating mothers. It is true there were some food taboos, and some of these were without foundation. Nonetheless, the importance of providing nutritious food for mothers was recognised. Nowadays, they can use modern methods of child spacing. Parents can learn about these methods in the maternal and child health (MCH) clinics which are now available in many health centres, dispensaries and even hospitals. At the same time, pregnant and lactating mothers can get education about appropriate food while attending the clinics.

Tanzania realises the importance of maternal and child health clinics. Therefore, one way in which Tanzania will be participating in the IYC will be to open more clinics of this kind. More than 200 new clinics will be opened in 1979.

Tanzania is aware that children should have a better chance of growing up than they now have. And health is not just a matter of attending the clinic at the right time and having the necessary vaccinations. It is the

balanced diet and general cleanliness which are the strongest protection against disease. And these things are increasingly within the Tanzanians' ability.

Tanzanian children who die from malnutrition, or from illnesses which cause death only because the child is undernourished, are more often victims of ignorance and failure to plan properly than of any actual shortage of food. Mostly, the food necessary for the health of the mother and the child is available, but it is not used either because of ignorance or because of traditional taboos which have no meaning or truth. One of the tasks of Tanzanian doctors and nurses, agricultural extension officers and primary school teachers is to give help in teaching and explaining the kinds of food needed for good health, and how to prepare and preserve them. The Tanzanian food and nutrition centre publishes booklets and a journal from which village leaders and all who have learned to read through the adult literacy campaign can know more about these matters. This centre also organises seminars, courses, and studies on all the matters related to nutrition—including the importance of cleanliness.

In the past four years, Tanzania has made very great progress in providing primary education for all school-age children. But much has yet to be done to provide facilities for schooling with enough classrooms, books, materials, teachers, and food. 'And food' is important.

In some of the Tanzanian villages one of the biggest problems, especially in primary schools, is that many children get no food in the morning. They leave their homes on empty stomach and there are no arrangements for feeding them at school. During the IYC there is a proposal to provide children with something to eat, either before going to school or at school.

There is need to have day-care centres or nursery schools organised and run by the village or by the women working through the Union of Tanzania Women (UTW). Such centres could be of very great importance, for they can ensure that children are properly looked after while mothers are working on the farms or elsewhere. During the IYC there are proposals to increase the number of these centres everywhere—in the towns and in the villages. Such centres would at the same time ensure that the children get good food.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

In order to facilitate the realisation of the main objectives of the IYC—to encourage raising significantly the level of services benefiting children on a permanent basis—specific structures have been set up at different levels.

A National Committee for the International Year of the Child (1979) was formed at the end of 1977. The National Committee is a policy-formulating/decision-making body on IYC matters. An advisory and planning sub-committee has also been formed. Composed of technocrats in child-related issues, the sub-committee is responsible for the drawing up of guidelines for



submission to the National Committee for recognition and approval. It is also responsible for the interpretation of policies determined by the National Committee.

The National Committee and the Prime Minister's office have agreed on the need to establish regional IYC committees both on the mainland and on the isles. These committees will be chaired by the regional commissioners, who are also the regional party secretaries and will comprise regional functional officers and all the regional functionaries of the party affiliates, *i.e.*, youth, women, parents and workers' organisations. The functions of these committees will be similar to those of the National Committee, but at the grassroot level. The regional commissioner will submit plans and recommendations on child-related issues to the Prime Minister's office, and a copy to the IYC secretariat, in order to enable the National Committee to appreciate and do something about existing conditions affecting children at all levels.

There are a number of programmes that have been identified for implementation during and after 1979. The implementation of each programme will be the responsibility of more than one sectoral ministry or organisation, in accordance with the overall desire to assume an integrated approach to the rendering of services benefiting children.

Some of the more important programmes are stock-taking activities. These are mainly studies in different aspects of children's programmes. These are aimed at providing information on the situation of children that would be critical for government policy determination/consolidation, for decision-making, in programming and for effective project management. It is planned that studies be undertaken on the following areas:

- (i) Study on the legal rights of the child and its mother: Work on this study began during the final quarter of last year. Presently, the field research is in progress. It is hoped that by the end of July, Mrs. Jane Kikopa, who is the principal researcher, will be able to present a draft report. Mrs. Kikopa is Assistant Lecturer in Family Law at the University of Dar es Salaam.
- (ii) Towards the establishment of minimum conditions for optimum child care in Tanzania through nursery schools/day care centres: A study: The principal researchers for this study are Prof. C.K. Omari, Head of the Sociology Department and Prof. I.M. Omari, Head of the Education Department at the University of Dar es Salaam. Work on this study is also well under way. A congress on early childhood education is planned for in connection with this study in December, after which a full report with recommendations will be submitted to the National Committee, for approval and adoption.
- (iii) Other areas to be looked into include road safety for children.
- (iv) A study on juvenile delinquency: work on this project is well under way.



- (v) A study on handicapped children.
- (vi) A study on the health and nutritional status of children and youth (up to primary school, *i.e.*, 15 years): position paper being compiled.

One of the major constraints to the success of development programmes in Tanzania as a whole and IYC projects especially at this point and time is lack of funds. To-date, the National Committee does not have any funds for supporting any of the programmes identified. Efforts are under way to secure the necessary go-ahead from the party for the Committee to launch a fund-raising programme.

Meantime, Tanzania is concentrating its efforts on the consolidation of policy affecting children, because in principle this exercise is a basic requisite. Besides, it should not entail a lot of funds. Once this is accomplished, and the full integration of programmes benefiting children is achieved, it is hoped that the actual implementation of the projects would subsequently fall in line with the overall national development programme.



Child Welfare Developments in Indian States

Bihar

ACCORDING TO the 1971 census, Bihar has 23.51 million children, *i.e.*, about 42 per cent of the total population of the State. 11.92 million children belong to the age group 0-6. 81 per cent of the children reside in villages.

General education of children is looked after by the education department of the State which has taken up several schemes for implementation in the Sixth Plan.

At the elementary stage of education, emphasis would be on extending education to non-attending children, reduction of wastage and stagnation, and raising the attendance rates. Special attention would be paid to the education of girls and of children belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, weaker sections of the society and backward areas children to remove the imbalance in social and economic development.

At the secondary and university stages of education, emphasis would be on the normal development and consolidation of facilities rather than expansion. Programmes would be drawn for the provision and extension of students' welfare facilities, including scholarships and hostel facilities and for the separation of post-secondary classes from the universities to make teaching in them more meaningful through reduction of the students in the universities and degree colleges.

Towards vocationalisation of education, non-academic courses of terminal education and training (flexible in terms of duration, subject content and organisation), which are employment oriented and directly useful to the students, would be made available to the extent possible so that post-middle and post-high school leavers may be prepared for employment. Efforts would be made to dovetail these courses with the rural development programmes.

In order to attract children for regular schooling, pre-school classes are being added to all the primary schools in the 263 low literacy blocks where the percentage of literacy is up to 15. These classes would be equipped with play equipments and other accessories required for running pre-primary classes on montessori and kindergarten basis. Besides, 5 model pre-primary schools are proposed to be established in each district. The existing pre-primary institutions would be given financial assistance for their proper and efficient functioning. An outlay of Rs. 100 lakhs is proposed for the purpose.



The take off position of enrolment in the age-group 6-14 at the end of 1977-78 is far behind the goal of universalisation of education. Out of the eligible population of 13.12 million children, only 7.47 million children have been enrolled, giving a percentage of 56.92 (77.69 per cent boys and 34.86 per cent girls.)

The enrolment of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe children, as compared to the enrolment of children of all communities, in the State, is also low. In 1974-75 only 34.1 per cent of scheduled caste children in the age group 6-11 were enrolled, as against 58.53 per cent children of all communities. Similarly in the age group 11-14, the percentage of enrolment of scheduled caste children in schools was only 11.2, as against the State's average of 24.67.

To achieve full enrolment of children in the age group 6-14 during 1978-83, 6.44 million additional children, 1.93 million boys and 4.52 million girls, will have to be enrolled during the period, since the population of children in this age group would grow to 13.91 million, 7.18 million boys and 6.73 million girls. According to the recommendations of the working group on universalisation of elementary education, a target of 90 per cent has been set for the 1978-83 plan, 96 per cent boys and 84 per cent girls. However, in the background of the achievements made, and the physical and financial resources in sight, it may be not possible for the State to achieve 90 per cent enrolment by 1982-83. In view of this it is proposed to enrol only 2.78 million additional children, 1.14 million boys and 1.64 million girls, during the plan 1978-83 raising the percentage of enrolment to 73.68, 89.10 boys and 57.23 girls.

Out of the 2.78 million of additional children proposed to be enrolled, 2.06 million would be covered under the formal schooling system and the rest 0.72 million through the non-formal system. Thus it is proposed to cover 74.27 per cent of additional children under the formal schooling system and 25.73 per cent under the non-formal system.

Under the non-formal system of education, an additional 0.72 million children, 0.32 million boys and 0.37 million girls, are proposed to be covered. Children of the age group 6-14, who have either dropped out or have never attended schools, would be mainly covered under this system of education.

The welfare department looks after the education of the children belonging to backward classes, the nutrition programme and other problems of general children also.

Promotion of girls' education would be possible only if they are encouraged to reside in hostels. It is, therefore, proposed to introduce a new scheme for giving hostel grants at the rate of Rs. 60 per month to scheduled caste girls. An outlay of Rs. 14 lakhs is proposed to benefit 1,940 girls with a sub-plan component of Rs. 1 lakh to benefit 1,453 girls in the area concerned.

All scheduled caste students are not yet getting stipend due to paucity of funds. Book grants are, therefore, given to such students as are not awarded stipends. During 1978-83, it is proposed to cover 175,000 students at a cost of Rs. 17.50 lakhs, out of which a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs is proposed for the



sub-plan, the latter to cover 4,000 students.

To prepare the ground for scheduled caste students, taking up science based technical courses at the college level, it is necessary to build up their science education at the high school stage. It is, therefore, proposed to organise special science coaching for them. Science teachers will be specially selected for coaching the students after school hours, for which they will be paid additional remuneration. The students will also be given grants as an incentive to attend the coaching classes. For this scheme, an outlay of Rs. 22 lakhs is proposed, with the sub-plan content of Rs. 2 lakhs.

There are 76 residential schools at present; 25 new residential schools will be opened and 19 residential middle schools will be upgraded as residential high schools, taking the total number of residential high schools to 63 by 1978-83. At present, only 17 residential schools have buildings. It is proposed to construct 10 more buildings during 1978-83.

It is proposed to open 150 new hostels during the plan 1978-83 to take the total number of scheduled castes hostels to 250 according to the policy to open at least one hostel for scheduled caste students in each block. Ten hostel buildings will also be constructed during the plan period. For these items, an outlay of Rs. 57 lakhs is proposed, out of which Rs. 3 lakhs is proposed for the sub-plan for opening of 15 new hostels.

There are, at present, three blind schools located at Patna, Ranchi and Darbhanga. Considering the need for such a school in each of the seven divisions in the State, it is proposed to establish 4 more blind schools one in each of the remaining divisions during 1978-83. A sum of Rs. 33 lakhs is accordingly proposed for the purpose, out of which Rs. 14.70 lakhs is proposed for the sub-plan. The existing three schools would be maintained out of the non-plan fund.

There are only two deaf and dumb schools in the State. It is proposed to establish two more schools one at Ranchi and the other at Bhagalpur during the 1978-83 plan period for which Rs. 19.25 lakhs is proposed with a sub-plan component of Rs. 9 lakhs.

Stipends to the handicapped students are awarded by the State Government at the rate of Rs. 25 per month. It is proposed to award stipends to 1,578 students during 1978-83 for which Rs. 3.75 lakhs is proposed. For the sub-plan a sum of Rs. 2.50 lakhs is proposed to benefit 830 such students.

Ill-nourishment of the children, nursing mothers and expectant women has been the main cause for high incidence of mortality among them. It has, therefore, been the endeavour of the government, both at the Centre and the State levels to provide nutritious diets to these groups of population, living specially in the tribal, backward and slum areas.

It is proposed to provide midday meals to 1.20 million children during 1978-83 at the rate of Rs. 50 per child per year. Accordingly, a sum of Rs. 60 crores is proposed for the purpose for the 1978-83 plan.

Over 3,000 nutrition centres are running in the State which feed children



below 6 years of age and pregnant and lactating mothers. Centres are run by voluntary organisations which get an honorarium of Rs. 20 per month. Intensive child development services projects are running in seven CD blocks. Besides, nutrition programme is being considered to be run in 3,200 centres of 50 selected underdeveloped CD blocks, which is expected to cost Rs. 46 lakhs.

The Bihar Children Ordinance has already been promulgated in 1979. Seven special courts and seven boards will be opened during this year to look after the welfare of children.

The health department is mainly responsible for the health of children. Mass immunisation scheme, polio and triple antigen vaccination programmes, health check-up of school going children, etc., are the work done by this department. During the IYC one child division in each subdivisional hospital has been opened for which one paediatrician will be posted.

In order to protect the health, safety and welfare of working children, below the age group of 18, the labour department has been made responsible to enforce the Shops and Commercial Establishment Act, the Factory Act, the Minimum Wages Act, the Equal Remuneration Act, etc.

Juvenile crime is yet another problem which requires adequate attention. The prison department carries out a programme of reformatory school for juvenile offenders. This work is now going to be transferred to the welfare department.



Delhi

THE WORK of child welfare in the Union Territory of Delhi is being looked after by the directorate of social welfare. The activities undertaken by this directorate are mostly covered under the Children Act, 1960. A number of institutions are being run by the Administration. Apart from this, grant-in-aid is given by the Administration to voluntary organisations engaged in child welfare and needing financial assistance.

Realising the immense importance of child welfare, Delhi was in the forefront to implement the Children Act, 1960 which is considered to be an ideal legislation to look after and to reform the juvenile offender and the unprotected and destitute child. Under this Act, separate institutions for boys and girls have been established to provide boarding and lodging, medical care, education and vocational training with a view to rehabilitate them in society as useful citizens. Two observation homes, one for male and the other for female, are functioning as per the provisions of the Act. The statutory institutions established under the Children Act along with their



present strength are given below:

<i>Name of the Institution</i>	<i>Nature of Services Rendered</i>	<i>No. of Beneficiaries</i>
1. Observation Home for Boys 1-Ferozshah Kotla, New Delhi.	Care of neglected delinquent boys pending disposal of their cases before the children's court/child welfare board.	158
2. Observation Home for Girls, A-38, Kirti Nagar, New Delhi.	Care of neglected delinquent girls pending disposal of their cases before the children's court/child welfare board.	33
3. Children's Home for Boys, Kingsway Camp, Delhi.	An institution providing care, treatment, education and vocational training in weaving, tailoring, welding, wiremen, fitter, barber, domestic science and band playing, to neglected boys committed to its care. It has two village annexes with 25 to 50 children in each where selected children having special aptitude for education are kept. They attend community schools and also participate in recreational and other activities of the community.	323
4. Children Home for Girls-I, Tihar, New Delhi.	Provides education and vocational training in tailoring to neglected girls.	118
5. Children Home for Girls-II, A, 38-Kirti Nagar, New Delhi.	To provide free boarding lodging, medical, educational and recreational facilities to the inmates between the age group of 0-12 years.	146
6. Home for Mentally Retarded Persons, Kasturba Niketan, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi.	Provides specialised education training in carpentry and occupational therapy.	46
7. Home for Mentally Retarded Children (Girls) Annexue, 14/78, Punjabi Bagh, New Delhi.	Educable and trainable mentally retarded Children are provided education and training in tailoring by individualised assignment.	49
8. Children Home (Beggars) Boys, Narela.	Education and vocational training in tailoring and arts and drawing for children arrested with beggars and committed by the board.	250
9. Children Home-II Kingsway Camp, Delhi.	To provide free boarding, lodging, medical, educational and recreational facilities to the inmates.	110
10. Special School for Boys, 1, Ferozshah Kotla, New Delhi.	Educational, training and treatment to delinquent boys committed to its care by children's court.	15

Besides, there are over 20 voluntary organisations working in the field of child welfare in Delhi.



FOSTER CARE AND OTHER SERVICES

Foster care service is a relatively new development in the field of child care. It has been recognised that the institution leaves a stigma on the child if he is institutionalised. Institution, howsoever good facilities they may have, cannot be a substitute for the family. Under the scheme, destitute, abandoned and orphan children of tender age are placed under the care of foster parents through the child welfare board. The families which receive the children to bring them up are given an assistance of Rs. 30 per month per child. The benefit of this scheme is that the emotional climate in the family assures a child that he is wanted and this gives the child a sense of belonging. The love and affection showered by the family fills the biggest void in their lives.

With a view to stem the tide of juvenile delinquency two bureaus are functioning. They provide preventive services for children who exhibit pre-delinquency tendencies or pose behavioural problems. These bureaus work in close cooperation with the family, school and community with a view to identify problem children and find solution by providing a healthy emotional and mental atmosphere.

With the increased cost of living and gradual industrialisation in Delhi, it has become necessary for a large number of women to work in industrial or semi-industrial undertakings to supplement the income of their family. When both husband and wife go for work, there is none to look after their children. For them, 11 (day-care) centres have been started in various localities of Delhi. At a nominal charge, the children are provided care, food and medical care where necessary.

To isolate children belonging to criminal tribes and other oppressed sections from the unhealthy and pernicious environments of their families and to make them good citizens through proper mental development, three institutions, two for boys and one for girls, have been established. The children of these institutions are provided free boarding and lodging, education and craft training. They attend regular community schools and participate in other community programmes. The admission is made purely on a voluntary basis.

For the deaf and mute children, the Lady Noyce school for the deaf and dumb is being run. It has over 500 students. The idea is to give education to the deaf and dumb children so as to make them self supporting. It has facilities for occupational training also and is the first higher secondary school of its kind in India.

For the blind boys, a school was established in 1969. It has facilities for education and training in various useful trades. At present the strength of this institution is 60.

In order to provide monetary assistance to those poor parents who are unable to send their physically handicapped children to school and to provide an incentive to the physically handicapped children for their



meritorious performance in studies, a scheme of stipends has also been implemented.

With a view to segregate the children from their leprosy affected parents and to save them from the onslaught of the disease, the Administration has set up three institutions, two for boys and one for girls. The children of these homes are sent to community schools for education. These institutions provide facilities for their physical and mental growth. Intensive medical care is given to each child.

A new home for selected destitute and unattached children, deprived of parental affection, has been started in 1974-75. The aim of this scheme is to give these children a homely and family like atmosphere which is essential for their development. The children will be given individual care and parental affection which is not possible in big institutions.

Nutritive food is provided to about one lakh children in 0-6 age group. The department is running 602 centres in slum areas where nutritive food is distributed daily free of cost.

The integrated child development services project (ICDS) in Delhi was launched in 1975 with the establishment of 100 anganwadies centres in the Jama Masjid area. Subsequently, one more ICDS project was started in Mangolpuri and Sultanpuri resettlement colonies. Five more such projects are being started in the resettlement colonies during this year. About 9,166 nursing and pregnant mothers and 32,523 children are benefited under this project. The scheme envisages a package of services to the 0-6 age group, *i.e.*, supplementary nutrition, health check up, immunisation, referral services, health and nutrition education to children, non-formal education to pre-school children and functional literacy for adults.



Gujarat

SOcial DEFENCE activities in Gujarat State cover a wide variety of services meant for the most deserving sectors of our society, *viz.*, the helpless, the destitute, neglected, exploited, handicapped, aged and infirm, those released from institutions, including discharged prisoners, covering all the districts of the State. In a way social defence activities are designed to protect the society from the menacing influence of the evils of anti-social element and to promote the welfare of the vulnerable sections of the community, predisposed to such evil influences. To achieve this goal, the State Government has undertaken various measures, and implements various social legislations for the care, protection, education, training and rehabilitation of the destitute, the neglected and the delinquent children, the foresaken and forlorn and



victimised women, the distressed and the deprived, physically handicapped, the aged and infirm.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON CHILDREN

The Gujarat State was formed in 1960 after the bifurcation of the bigger bilingual Bombay State. The total population of the State as per the 1971 census is 26.7 million of which 13.8 million are males and 12.9 million females. Children in the age group 0-14 years are 11.5 million—boys 6.0 million and girls 5.5 million, *i.e.*, about 42 per cent of the total population of the State.

Out of the total population of the State 18.2 million live in rural areas and the others in the urban. From this we can infer that 50 per cent of the total children population, *i.e.*, 5.7 million reside in the rural areas of the State. Out of the total population of the State 14 per cent belong to scheduled tribes. So 1.7 million children belong to scheduled castes. Out of the total children population 20 to 21 per cent belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

For dealing with the problem of the destitute, delinquent, forlorn, and controllable children, the Bombay Children Act, 1948 and the Saurashtra Children Act, 1956 have been made applicable to the whole of the State. At present there are 22 remand/observation homes, 6 certified/special schools of which 2 are for girls. Over and above this 26 voluntary organisations have been declared as fit person institutions under these Acts. As a part of celebration of IYC, 1979, one remand home under the Children Act will be established in the tribal areas in 1979 and a provision of Rs. 0.07 lakhs has been made for it in the current year.

Besides the above statutory programme under the Children Act there are 12 voluntary organisations which have been recognised as orphanages. They are playing a very vital role in upbringing, educating and rehabilitating orphan children in the State. The children are admitted in these institutions directly without any order from the juvenile court. These children are provided boarding-lodging, medical and other facilities, free of cost. They also run schools for these children. The *Anathashram* at Surendranagar also runs a primary teachers' training college for orphan children. All these institutions are paid grant-in-aid by the government.

State Government also runs foundling homes. At present there are 3 foundling homes attached to the State homes at Surat, Vadodara and at the reception centre at Surendranagar. Children of unmarried mothers, children found discarded on streets, in trains and in other public places and who are lost and found destitute are admitted in these foundling homes. They should be in the age-group 0 to 6 years.

All the voluntary institutions working for the welfare of children and women have to take licence under the Licencing Act, 1956. At present, there are 44 such institutions working in the State. Out of these, 35 institutions are



working for the rehabilitation and welfare of children. For their development, these institutions are paid building and equipment grants.

To cater to the needs of orphan children, 17 voluntary organisations in the State have taken up the Government of India scheme of welfare of destitute children. Under this scheme, 33 cottages, each of 25 children, have been established and 825 children have been covered under this scheme. As a part of the IYC one cottage type of home for destitute children will be established in tribal areas and Rs. 0.50 lakhs have been provided for it.

WELFARE OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Various activities for the education, training and rehabilitation of physically handicapped children are carried out by the State Government and voluntary organisations. At present there are in all 55 institutions for this purpose. Out of them, 9 are run by the Government and 46 by voluntary organisations, the details of which are as follows:

Sr. No.	Category of Institution	No.		Total no. of beneficia- ries 1977-78
		Govt.	Vol.	
1.	Institutions for blind children	3	18	864
2.	Institutions for deaf and dumb children	2	17	1,495
3.	Institutions for orthopaedically handi- capped children	2	4	436
4.	Homes for mentally retarded children	2	7	720
Total		9	46	3,515

A majority of these institutions are residential and they provide free lodging and boarding facilities, in addition to free education and vocational training. Most of these institutions impart training in crafts such as tailoring, carpentry, weaving, printing, cane work, etc. The Tata Agricultural and Rural Training Centre for the Blind at Phansa (Dist. Valsad) imparts training in agriculture, horticulture, gardening, dairy-farming, poultry-farming, etc. Physically handicapped children are given primary education upto standard VII in these institutions. The secondary school for the blind at Vastrapur (Ahmedabad) and at Sabarmati (Ahmedabad) are imparting education up to SSC level.

The scheme of integrated education for the physically handicapped is being implemented in the State since 1963. Vividhaxi Vidyamandir, Palanpur (Dist. Banaskantha) which is a normal school has undertaken the integrated education programme for blind children since 1963. At present 30 blind children are taking benefit of this scheme.

The municipal corporations of Baroda and Surat are running deaf and dumb schools as part of the normal schools. The deaf-dumb children



participate in common activities like games, crafts, etc., with the normal children. Other special subjects such as speech therapy and audio-visual training are given by special teachers. At present about 60 children are taking advantage of this scheme.

The orthopaedically handicapped children attend the special classes in their own institutions and for other subjects they attend the normal schools. Thus they have been fully integrated with the normal children.

NON-INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMMES

The directorate of social defence has undertaken various non-institutional programmes for child welfare, women welfare, youthful offenders, etc.

Slum areas are the breeding places of delinquency. With a view to provide recreational and psychological help and to inculcate the quality of leadership among the children residing in the slum areas, the department has implemented a scheme of juvenile guidance centres through voluntary organisations on grant-in-aid basis. At present there are 16 juvenile guidance centres in different parts of the State. In the city of Ahmedabad a pilot project with three sub-centres for the prevention of juvenile beggary and delinquency has also been started in the slum areas of Naroda, Rakhial and Asarwa (Ahmedabad City). In this project the children are provided with recreational facilities and vocation training and case-work services by the community organisers. Every year nearly 3,000 children are taking benefit of this project.

As a part of observance of the IYC, the department has taken up a scheme of establishment of children's centres for the all round development of children. After the establishment of the industrial estates at district level, industrialisation has spread even to rural areas. The district and taluk headquarters towns are facing the problem of over-crowding, insufficient housing facilities, lack of sanitation, etc., leading to juvenile delinquency. Such small district level towns are also in need of children's centres for the proper and allround growth of children. With this in view the department has formulated a scheme of establishing 100 children's centres in the State. The scheme has been approved by the State Government on a pilot basis during 1979-80 with the sanction of 10 children's centres and a provision of Rs. 0.50 lakhs has been made.

With a view to provide near family atmosphere to the orphan children the State has implemented the Centrally sponsored scheme of foster care services on a pilot basis in the cities of Ahmedabad and Vadodara, through the Gujarat State Probation and After Care Association. It is intended to cover 100 orphan children under this scheme during 1979-80.

A scheme of granting scholarships to destitute children has also been taken up under the plan programmes. During 1978-79, 12 destitute children were benefited and scholarships to the tune of Rs. 16,500 have been granted to the destitute children for furtherance of their technical and higher studies.



THE CHILD MARRIAGE PREVENTION WORK

The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 has been made applicable to the whole of the State with the appointment of the child marriage prevention officers at Ahmedabad and Vadodara cities.

Subsequently when the work under the Child Marriage Restraint Act got momentum 4 more child marriage prevention officers each at district headquarters, viz., Junagadh, Bhavnagar, Rajkot and Surat, were appointed.

During 1978-79, 874 cases were received under the Act. Out of these, 164 child marriages were prevented and 45 cases were filed in the court. 380 cases were entrusted to the police for inquiry and for filing cases under this Act.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND OTHER AID TO PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

The State Government awards scholarships to physically handicapped students up to standard VIII to those who have obtained at least 40 per cent marks at their last annual examination.

The details of scholarships sanctioned during the year 1978-79 are as under:

Blind 21; Deaf and Dumb 91; Orth. Handi. 825; Total 937.

Total amount of scholarships granted: Rs. 2,74,600.

The Government of India scholarships to the physically handicapped children is forwarded from standard IX onwards through this directorate. The details of Government of India scholarships for the year 1978-79 are as under:

Blind 80; Deaf and Dumb 14; Ortho. Handi. 765; Total 859.

Total amount of scholarships granted: Rs. 5,49,545.

The scheme of giving financial assistance to physically handicapped children of weaker sections of the society for purchase of artificial limbs, tricycles, hearing aids, etc. is in force in the State since 1970. Financial assistance upto Rs. 300 used to be given as per the income of the applicant. The rate of financial assistance has been enhanced from Rs. 300 to Rs. 600 with effect from April 1978. The details of prosthetic aids given during 1978-79 are as under:

Blind 9; Deaf and Dumb 3; Orth. Handi. 38; Total 50.

Total amount of financial aids: Rs. 38,200.

Thus the directorate has taken up institutional and non-institutional programmes for the welfare of the children, with a network of institutions all over the State.



Kerala

KERALA IS one among the very few States in India to take up social welfare and social security schemes from a very early date. Till 1975, these activities were being undertaken by a number of departments like prisons, revenue, etc. A separate department of social welfare was formed in this State during 1975-76 with a view to coordinating all the welfare schemes for women and children, the handicapped, the destitutes, etc. Realising the importance of child care as the initial step in building up human resources, the State Government is giving the highest priority to child development programmes.

The various child welfare schemes implemented by Government for the cause of children are outlined below.

It has been estimated that 40 per cent of the children in the age group of 0-6 years are suffering from the hazards of malnutrition in the form of protein, calory and vitamin deficiency. In order to combat this problem, a special nutrition programme (SNP) was started in 1971 as a Central scheme in the Fourth Plan. The programme now covers 225 thousand beneficiaries. These beneficiaries are given supplementary food through 1,125 feeding centres opened in selected areas. The annual expenditure on the programme comes to Rs. 1.25 crores. Action is in progress to cover 25,000 beneficiaries more during the IYC.

In addition to SNP which is implemented with indigenous food and native resources, the department of social welfare is making use of food assistance from the World Food Programme (WFP). The food assistance received from WFP is used for feeding pre-school children and pregnant and lactating mothers, 200 thousand beneficiaries are covered.

The integrated child development service scheme envisages the delivery of a package of services, essential for the physical growth, intellectual development, and emotional well being of the children. The service includes immunisation, health check-up, referral services, supplementary nutrition, informal education and health and nutrition education. The major beneficiaries of the scheme are the pre-school children and the pregnant and nursing mothers, though women in the age group 15-44 are also covered under the functional literacy programme.

At present, under the department of social welfare, there are four Centrally sponsored and 2 State sector ICDS projects. They are:

ICDS Project:

(i) Vengara	}	Rural	}	Centrally sponsored.
(ii) Chavara				
(iii) Chavakkad				
(iv) Manantoddy	}	Tribal		

(i) Trivandrum	}	(Urban)	{	State sector
(ii) Calicut				

Preparatory work in respect of three ICDS projects allotted to this State to be started in the IYC is in progress.

A proposal for starting two State sector projects is under the active consideration of government.

Day-care centres are started in selected backward areas, predominantly occupied by fishermen, coir workers, agricultural labourers, etc., where there are no voluntary organisations in the field.

At present there are 20 day-care centres where children are given supplementary food, periodical medical check-up and pre-school education. The cost of maintaining one day-care centre is approximately Rs. 15,000 per annum. Ten more day-care centres are proposed to be started during the IYC. It is also proposed to start 10 more centres every year.

Pre-school or nursery education, though very important, is now conducted by voluntary organisations. There are a few institutions maintained by major organisations for the benefit of well to do sections. But the majority of nursery schools, balwadis, etc., are run by mahila samajams, etc., under poor economic conditions. Therefore, financial assistance is given to them for the purchase of play materials, other equipments, etc.

During 1979-80, it is proposed to give a nominal assistance of Rs. 200 p.m. each to 100 institutions, which satisfy the minimum standards prescribed by the government.

The policy now followed in pre-school education is to assist and encourage voluntary organisations to start such institutions wherever possible. With this end in view financial assistance will be given to 40 voluntary organisations for starting creches in the unorganised sectors.

For the care, protection, maintenance and rehabilitation of destitute children, there are about 350 orphanages and other charitable homes in the State. These institutions are aided by the State Government. Per capita grant of Rs. 30 p.m. is being paid to about 30,000 orphan and destitute inmates of these institutions. The per capita grant is proposed to be enhanced to Rs. 35 during this year.

As per the Orphanages and Other Charitable Homes (Supervision and Control) Act 1960, a board of control of orphanages has been constituted. The main function of the board is to control and supervise generally all matters relating to the management of orphanages and charitable homes.

Under the auspices of the board a monthly magazine 'Kuttikal' is also published.

With a view to giving care and special training to mentally deficient children in the age-group of 5 to 14 years, the government runs two homes, one at Trivandrum and another at Calicut. There are facilities for accommodating 60 children in these institutions. A child guidance clinic is also function-



ing in the home for the mentally deficient children, Trivandrum. Besides, there are seven homes for the retarded children under private management but aided by the government.

There are two homes for disabled children under the department, one at Quilon and the other at Trichur for providing care and protection to physically handicapped children of both sex up to the age of 14.

The children's home at Mavelikara is meant for the care, protection and rehabilitation of healthy children of lepers. Other children of either sex below the age of 6 are also admitted.

There are two institutions meant to provide shelter to destitute and strayed boys within the age group of 7-16.

Social defence measures cover care, protection and treatment of neglected, delinquent, uncontrollable and victimised children; probationers; control and eradication of beggary; programmes of moral and social hygiene and after care services. Probation is an universally accepted effective and scientific method of prevention of crime and delinquency. There are 28 probation officers working under three regional assistant directors and the joint director of social welfare is the chief probation superintendent.

Under the composite programme for women and children (CPWC) grants are given for running balwadis and for conducting immunisation, health check-up, etc., through a network of mahila mandals. Besides, the programme includes nutrition education through mahila mandals, strengthening of supervisory machinery for women's programme, demonstration of feeding programmes, training of women workers, etc.

Under the mid-day meal programme for school going children, about 1.7 million are given mid-day meals utilising the food articles from CARE.

Several surveys and studies have revealed that malnutrition is one of the major sectors responsible for the high mortality and morbidity. Nutritious foods are distributed to malnourished children through the ANM sub-centres.

A new project under the department of paediatrics, medical college, Trivandrum, for providing nutrition, immunisation and health check-up to the children of the urban slums and coastal areas of Trivandrum, has been started. Necessary funds for the implementation of the project are being given by the State.

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Voluntary organisations in this State are doing remarkable service in areas like education, health, nutrition, recreation, etc. They organise child health centres, nursery schools, day-care centres, balwadis, feeding centres, etc.

The State social welfare advisory board is running two family and child welfare centres. Similarly, the State branch of the Indian Council of Child

Welfare undertakes programmes like holiday camps for children, immunisation, opening of day-care centres, creches, etc. There are three balasevika training institutes under the State Council of Child Welfare. The syllabi of the BST course covers subjects in school education, nutrition, health, social work, etc. The services of these training institutes are being utilised for training the anganwadi workers of the various ICDS projects both in the Central and the State sectors.

Of the various services rendered by various departments and voluntary organisations, the most important are the supplementary nutrition and the pre-school education. The government has provided an amount of Rs. 2 crores in the annual budget for 1979-80 for providing at least one meal a day to the remaining children who are not covered by any of the programmes mentioned above.

Pre-school education is included as one of the main components of the ICDS scheme. In the State the agencies involved in pre-school education are government departments and voluntary organisations like State branches of the All India associations like the Indian Council of Child Welfare, the BSS, the Central Social Welfare Advisory Board, etc. The question of rationalising the whole system of pre-school education was discussed in the last meeting of the State board for children and the State level coordination committees on social welfare. Accordingly it is proposed to constitute a board of control of nursery education and child care services by a legislation and this is under the active consideration of the government.



Madhya Pradesh

MADHYA PRADESH with its area of 443 thousand sq. km., geographically ranks first among the States in the country. Total child population (0-14) of 1.82 million constitutes 44 per cent of the total population of the State. Madhya Pradesh shares 7.9 per cent of the child population of the country. Of the total child population 40 per cent children are in the 0-4 age group. Boys outnumber girls as they share 51 per cent in the total. Only 15 per cent children live in towns and cities. Children's share in the working force is 7 per cent and 88 per cent of them are found engaged in agriculture. As estimated by Natrajan of the Registrar General's office, by 1991 child population in Madhya Pradesh will be 24.6 million, registering an increase of 35 per cent over the 1971 child population.

The annual birth rate (SRS estimates) per 1000 population in the rural sector at 41.7 is higher than that of the urban at 32.6 per 1000. The death rate



is also higher in rural areas (19.8) as compared to the urban (11.1).

In Madhya Pradesh out of every 1,000 babies born alive, 159 in the rural and 113 in the urban sector die in the first year of life. Infant mortality rate is higher in children below 5 years of age. Expectancy of life at birth is estimated at 53.1 for males and 51.9 for females.

The basic needs of children are nutrition, health care, education, recreation and welfare services. Major problems faced by the children are lack of protection, malnutrition, deficiency, diseases and lack of health education. There is intensive illiteracy in rural areas. Out of 100 females in villages 84 are illiterate. The enrolment ratio in the 6-11 age group stands at 62 per cent; in case of 11-14 at 26 per cent; and 17 per cent in the 14-17 age group. It clearly indicates that most of the children of school going age do not attend schools. They are used as cheap manpower for agriculture and allied activities. Among the non-enrolled children the largest group is that of girls. Madhya Pradesh is one of the States where the problem of dropouts is most alarming. Nearly 66 per cent of children drop out between class I-V.

Recreation facilities are not adequate in the State. Similarly care facilities like creches, day-care centres and child guidance clinics are very few. There is paucity of welfare services for destitutes, handicapped and socially delinquent children and also for normal children of weaker section of the society.

CHILDREN SERVICES—A REVIEW

Nutrition and Health: Special nutrition programme is being implemented by the social welfare department in 19 towns of the State, of which 12 towns are covered under the programme assisted by the World Food Programme (WFP). About 200 thousand children are benefited. Nutritional food is distributed to children of 0-6 age group and expectant and lactating mothers. In tribal areas this programme is conducted by the tribal welfare department through 11,412 centres. About 700 thousand children and mothers are benefited.

In rural areas applied nutrition programme (ANP) is being implemented. At present out of 458 development blocks 155 are covered. ANP is supervised by the development department in the State.

Through ICDS projects integrated services are provided to children. There will be 3 rural, 1 urban and 4 tribal projects during this financial year. At present only two are working.

There are 462 primary health centres, 537 dispensaries, 670 hospitals, 199 maternity homes 555 family welfare planning centres and 3,049 sub-centres. The number of ayurvedic/homoeopathic and unani hospitals is 1107. The State health department has been implementing an ambitious programme, 'expanded programme of immunisation' since October 1972. It is to cover the maximum number of villages by adding 10 per cent villages

every year. By 1990 it is expected that every child born will be protected from all preventable and communicable diseases within first year of life. School immunisation programme is taken up to cover all children in 6-8 age group. Services of paediatrics and dental surgeons are being extended upto district level. Anti-natal and post-natal clinics are also run in every health institution throughout the State. Efforts are being made to educate rural masses to avail the services of trained *dais* for maternal care. Distribution of vitamin A tablets and D drops is arranged in every health centre.

Education: A network of educational facilities has been provided by way of opening a large number of primary and middle schools. At present there are 50,296 primary and 8,681 middle schools of the education department and 9,156 primary and 1,511 middle schools of the tribal welfare department. The State is going to provide schools within easy walkable distance of the beneficiaries. Special type of schools will be started for tribal children. Efforts are being taken to eliminate stagnation also.

Welfare Services: State social welfare department is assisting about 300 voluntary organisations through grant-in-aid for balwadies in rural and urban areas for the children in 3-6 age group. Institutions established by the department itself include 8 balwadies, 1 orphanage, 2 cottages for foster care to orphan children, 9 schools for physically handicapped children and services desired under the Children Act in 31 out of 45 districts. In addition, there are 7 homes for healthy children of leprosy patients. Financial assistance for artificial limbs and scholarships to nearly 500 students are also provided. For orthopaedically handicapped children, the department has established two homes which provide treatment and other facilities.

PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION

In Madhya Pradesh child welfare services are administered through several departments of the State Government including public health, education, tribal and harijan welfare, social welfare and development department. At the State level all these have their State directorates and agencies at the division, district, block and village level.

From the review of existing child welfare services and actual needs of the children given earlier, it is clear that the present availability is not adequate. Much is to be done. IYC has provided a good opportunity to various departments to make their own assessment.

The basic problem is finance. It results in curtailment of the various programmes intended for the development of children. Demand is more but supply is limited. For example, the special nutrition programme is implemented for the children of slum and poor localities in 19 towns only. To increase the coverage in terms of beneficiaries as well as towns more funds are required. Similarly, facilities of destitutes as well as physically handicapped children are desired to be extended to the maximum. Existing institutions need to be



upgraded and the number of scholarships increased, but lack of funds does not allow it. Voluntary agencies are not much active. They too depend on government grants.

It is also a point that people do not avail of facilities existing for their children. For example, in a village even where school exists, cultivators do not as a rule send their wards to schools. This is a common problem in rural and tribal tracks of the State. Also, the spirit of selflessness and dedication for social service is losing its place in society in general, especially in workers in voluntary organisations and government institutions.



Maharashtra

THE YEAR 1979 is being observed as the International Year of the Child (IYC). The State Government has set up a State level IYC committee under the chairmanship of the Minister for Social Welfare for formulating and implementing various programmes for children. Accordingly the committee has decided to take up certain programmes, *e.g.*, (a) providing a package of services to needy children in a few selected villages, having a population of less than 500, in every district; (b) providing education, nutrition, medical care, etc., to the urban children working in unorganised sectors like bidi making industry, hotels and restaurants, construction industry, etc; and (c) sponsorship programme for destitute children under the above items to cover 2,000 children from six major cities in the State, *viz.*, Bombay, Pune, Nagpur, Aurangabad, Kolhapur and Sholapur.

Similarly regional IYC committees under the chairmanship of the commissioners have also been set up.

A provision of Rs. 8.10 lakhs has been made for implementation of the above schemes for needy children during 1979-80.

The Maharashtra State social welfare advisory board is running 36 family and child welfare centres and 7 welfare extension projects in the rural areas of the State. These projects were taken charge of by the State Government in 1974-75 and 1975-76. The government pays 100 per cent grant-in-aid to the State board on account of these projects and they are managed by the State board under the overall control and supervision by the director of social welfare. The total coverage of beneficiaries under the 36 projects is 6,840 children and 3,240 women. The coverage under the 7 welfare extension projects is 1,260 children and 630 women. The government pays grant-in-aid to the extent of Rs. 30 to Rs. 33 lakhs per annum to the State board.

The problems of the physically handicapped covering the blind, the deaf-mute, the crippled, the mentally retarded, the aged and the infirm, etc., are

receiving much closer attention at the hands of the State Government. The broad nature of these programmes covers activities such as special schools for handicapped children, sheltered workshops, award of scholarships, supply of artificial limbs, financial aid for self-employment, training programme of teachers for special schools, etc.

The government is running 13 such schools/institutions in the State for the physically handicapped, out of which 4 are for the blind, 3 for the deaf-mute and 3 for the orthopaedically handicapped. In addition, the government has started 3 multipurpose group complexes for the physically handicapped children at Ambejogai (dist. Beed), Sholapur and Wardha and the fourth multipurpose complex has been sanctioned (1978-79) at Jalgaon. These 4 complexes provide education, shelter, food, medical care, etc., for 400 physically handicapped children of different categories under one roof. The expenditure being incurred on these complexes comes to Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 lakhs per annum.

The major part of education and training programme for the physically handicapped is being handled by voluntary organisations for which the government provides necessary grant-in-aid at specified rates.

Voluntary institutions are running 51 special schools for the blind, the deaf-mute, the orthopaedically handicapped and the mentally retarded. During 1978-79 the rates of capitation grant in respect of the students residing in the hostels attached to the schools for the physically handicapped have been increased from Rs. 45 to Rs. 60 per inmate per month. Voluntary institutions are also maintaining 15 workshops for various types of physically handicapped persons. The total number of children in these schools is 3,320 and the number of trainees in the workshops is 600.

The proposed expenditure likely to be incurred in 1979-80 on the programmes for the physically handicapped run by the State Government and voluntary institutions is Rs. 79 lakhs (non-plan) and Rs. 22 lakhs (plan).

SOCIAL WELFARE

The children who need care and protection comprise of orphans, the destitute, neglected and victimised children, with behavioural disorders, and youthful offenders. In Maharashtra, these children are covered under the Bombay Children Act, 1948. The institutions under the Act, *viz.*, observation homes (remand homes), classifying centres, approved centres (certified schools) and approved institutions (fit person institutions) provide the necessary services for the care, protection, treatment, training and rehabilitation of such children. The Bombay Children Act, 1948 has been amended in 1975 and the amended Act has enhanced the admission age limit in respect of girls from 16 to 18 years and the detention age limit from 18 to 20 years. It has thus enabled a coverage of a larger number of girls for their protection and welfare during their sensitive period of adolescence.



BACKWARD CLASS WELFARE

The programme is intended for the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, denotified tribes and nomadic tribes. The programme regarding educational concessions to such classes include: (a) exemption from payment of tuition and examination fees and award of scholarships; (b) opening of government hostels for boys and girls; and (c) payment of grant-in-aid to voluntary agencies for running hostels for students belonging to backward classes.

TRIBAL WELFARE

This is an important programme implemented by the directorate of tribal welfare. Under this programme, ashram schools with attached hostels and balwadis are being opened on the basis of one school for a population of about 6,000 to 7,000. This special programme, named 'area development approach-opening of ashram shala complexes' envisages selection of a compact area covering an average population ranging between 6,000 to 7,000 within an area of 8 to 10 km. to cater to the educational need of the tribal children in the interior and tribal areas. A provision of Rs. 4.77 crores has been made in the current year's budget on this scheme. About 22,000 tribal boys and girls are taking education in these schools.

Six government hostels for scheduled tribe girls are being run by the directorate. The budget provision proposed for these hostels for 1979-80 is Rs. 4.34 lakhs.

There are 148 ashram schools for scheduled tribes run by voluntary agencies. These are aided schools and are paid grant-in-aid at 90 per cent of the expenditure on approved items of expenditure. A provision of Rs. 1.60 crores has been made in the budget 1979-80 for payment of grant-in-aid to the above schools. About 20,000 to 21,000 children are taking education in these aided ashram schools.

MID-DAY MEALS

The school feeding programme for primary school children in the age group of 6-11 was introduced in the State in 1968-69. The object of the programme is to combat malnutrition in school children and to ensure maximum attendance in the schools in the rural areas. In this programme, nutritious dishes are also given to remove the nutritional deficiencies. This is a fully State-sponsored programme and the entire expenditure is borne by the State Government.

During the Fourth Plan 225,000 beneficiaries were covered in four districts with CARE food assistance (Thane, Pune, Nagpur and Aurangabad). The CARE discontinued its food assistance and the committed level of beneficiaries was continued with local indigenous food material upto 1974-75.

This programme was expanded under the minimum needs programme in the Fifth Plan and the yearly coverage with indigenous food material under the Plan is: 1974-75, 55,000; 1975-76, 27,500; 1976-77, 11,000; 1977-78, 12,800; and 1978-79, 12,800. Over and above this coverage, under the '40 point programme' of the present State Government the programme has been extended to all tribal and DPAP affected areas of 13 districts for a coverage of 539,926 beneficiaries during 1978-79. All the 785,926 beneficiaries under plan and non-plan were covered with 'paushtic ahar' manufactured by the Maharashtra Small Scale Industries Development Corporation (MSSIDC), Bombay. The MSSIDC was the sole agency for supply of nutritious food during 1978-79. Units of the educated unemployed were created by MSSIDC at each district and they were supplying the 'paushtic ahar' to the respective districts. Each beneficiary is given a ration of 100 gm. 'paushtic ahar' and the cost is 30 paise per ration of 100 gm. per day. The nutritive value in 100 gm. ration is 350 to 400 calories, 12 gm. of proteins and vitamins. The feeding is for 20 days in a month, 200 days in a year. The life of 'paushtic ahar' is 15 to 30 days, if properly stored.

This is a district level scheme for which the concerned district planning and development councils are providing funds.

During 1979-80, the CARE is donating food material for this programme. It is proposed to cover 200,000 beneficiaries with CARE material and a ready made food called 'sukhada' will be given under this plan in non-tribal areas. In addition, 41,550 beneficiaries will be covered in tribal areas with indigenous food (plan programme) along with 785,926 beneficiaries (non-plan).

It is also proposed to cover a total of about 3 million beneficiaries by the end of the Sixth Plan. This will be against the total primary school children of 5.5 million in Maharashtra.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

In Maharashtra, education is compulsory for children of the age 6 to 14. Since independence, the State Government has made concerted efforts to achieve 100 per cent enrolment and retention of the children of school going age. For the purpose, about 48,000 primary schools have been opened and attempts have been made to make schooling facilities available within a walking distance. In spite of these efforts, there is no full response and there is a large number of children, either not enrolled or have been enrolled but have not continued in the schools. This state of affairs has been taken into account while formulating the Sixth Plan and it is aimed at achieving the goal of 100 per cent enrolment and retention during the Plan period.



Meghalaya

SINCE ITS inception, the department of social welfare has taken up many schemes especially the child welfare schemes. Prior to 1974-75, the department was attached to the education department. During that period, grants-in-aid were given to voluntary organisations for social welfare activities, grants-in-aid to the physically handicapped and scholarships for the blinds and the physically handicapped. The department was detached from the education department in 1974 as the volume of work and public demand were increasing year after year. During that period onward, the department has started implementing many other schemes especially the child welfare schemes. Such schemes are:

The special nutrition programme (SNP) in urban areas provides a package of services such as supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check-up, distribution of multi-vitamins and other necessary medicines to children below 6 years besides nursing and expectant mothers. The programme is executed by the department in all the district headquarters of the State. Up-to date there are 59 SNP centres with 11,800 beneficiaries (*i.e.*, children below six years of age are 8,850 and nursing and expectant mothers are 2,950) approximately.

A similar scheme, *viz.*, the integrated child development services scheme is sponsored by the Government of India. The scheme provides integrated services to children below 6 years. Since the mother has a key role in the physical, psychological and social development of the child, nursing and expectant mothers have been brought under the scheme. The delivery of services to the child, nursing and expectant mothers is health check-up, immunisation, supplementary nutrition, referral services, health and nutrition education and non formal pre-school education in an integrated manner. The scheme is being implemented in the rural areas only of Songsak block in the East Garo Hills District and Myllem block in the East Khasi Hills District. Another project at the Thadlaskein block in the Jaintia Hills District is going to be implemented in 1979-80. The work is now under progress.

Anganwadi centres in the existing two projects are 50 in each project. In Songsak block, in addition to the 50 centres there are 53 sub-feeding centres. In Myllem block also in addition to the 50 centres, another 50 anganwadi centres are going to be implemented as soon as the training of anganwadi workers is completed.

The total number of beneficiaries in the above two projects since the date of inception are 20,000. The number of beneficiaries in the third project in Thadlaskein block is not yet identified. The identification will be done when all the health staff and other staff are in position. The number of anganwadi centres are 50 according to the pattern.

In connection with the celebration of the IYC and the national policy



for children, some programmes have been taken up and some are proposed to be taken up. The following are the programmes:

- (i) Many of the pre-primary schools run by the voluntary organisations are poor and ill-equipped. As such, it is proposed to continue the distribution of teaching aids to these schools. So far 58 pre-primary schools have received teaching aids from the department during 1976-78.
- (ii) One balbhavan in Shillong has been set up in 1979 through the voluntary women organisations. Grant-in-aid to start the balbhavan was given and it will be reviewed every year.
- (iii) Three creches/day-care centres to be entrusted to voluntary women organisations are going to be set up very shortly during 1979-80.
- (iv) A remand home as a short stay home for the undertrial juvenile delinquents is also proposed to be established as soon as possible. At the moment the department is facing accommodation problem since such home requires a good building, other staff quarters and a sizeable campus with good fencing.
- (v) One correctional home for the undertrial juvenile delinquents was sanctioned during 1976. But due to accommodation problem and other problems like water supply, etc., the scheme is kept in abeyance until proper accommodation is arranged.

Scholarships for the physically handicapped are continued every year. So far 109 children have received scholarships under the scheme for the last three years.

There are some orphanages in the State out of which 6 are receiving grant-in-aid from the Government of India through the social welfare department since the last three years. It is proposed that more of these orphanages be covered under the scheme and fund for the purpose has also been provided in 1979-80. The additional number of these children's homes depends on the extent of funds available and on the grant-in-aid to be released by the Government of India. However, effort is being made to cover all destitute children under the scheme.

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Nagaland

THE POPULATION of Nagaland according to the 1971 census is 516,449. Children in the 0-14 age-group constitute about 37.88 per cent of the total population in the State. About 135,038 children in the 6-14 years age-group are enrolled in educational institutions.

Nutrition: In Nagaland even though malnutrition among children is not a major problem, there are many children in the rural areas found to be suffering from mild degrees of malnutrition. This is mainly due to lack of adequate sanitation and balanced diet. In order to combat this problem, the special nutrition programme (SNP) was launched in 1970-71. At present there are 408 feeding centres in operation which include 100 feeding centres under the 2 ICDS projects in the State. Upto now the SNP has covered about 52 thousand beneficiaries.

In view of the needs of rural children, it is proposed to expand the SNP during the Sixth Plan period, and accordingly Rs. 1.25 crores has been allocated for the opening of 406 new feeding centres which will cover about 44 thousand beneficiaries. During 1979-80 Rs. 17 lakhs is proposed to be spent under the programme for opening 142 new feeding centres covering about 17 thousand beneficiaries.

Recreation: Recreational facilities for children in rural areas of Nagaland are poor. In order to let them meaningfully utilise their energies and leisure, provision of adequate recreational facilities is essential. Upto to now the State social welfare department has set up 13 recreation centres for rural children. In these centres recreational facilities, such as sliding-chute, swing, see-saw, badminton, carrom, children's books, etc., are provided by the department. A social worker is appointed by the department in each centre for organising recreational activities. At present the total coverage of beneficiaries is about 1,300. In order to give more coverage under this programme, it is proposed to set up 20 new recreation centres during the Sixth Plan period.

Care and Welfare: There are many destitute children in Nagaland but there are not sufficient voluntary organisations to render welfare services to them. During 1978-79 the department sanctioned grant-in-aid to 8 voluntary organisations dealing with the welfare of children and the physically handicapped. In 1979-80, a sum of Rs. 0.40 lakhs is proposed to be spent for giving grant-in-aid to some new voluntary organisations working for the welfare of children.

I.C.D.S.: The first ICDS project in the State was set up during 1975-76 in the Zeliang-Kuki block under which there are 55 anganwadi centres covering about 4 thousand beneficiaries. The second ICDS project was set up in the Mon block during 1978-79. There are 45 anganwadi centres under this project covering about 6 thousand beneficiaries.

The ICDS provides a package of services to children below six years of age, pregnant women and nursing mothers. It includes supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check-up, referral services, nutrition and health education and non-formal pre-school education. In addition, functional literacy programme for adult women is implemented which aims at imparting non-formal education to adult women in health, hygiene, nutrition, child care, etc.

A child development project officer is in charge of each ICDS project.

An anganwadi worker is in charge of each anganwadi centre and she is assisted in her work by a helper. The work of the anganwadi worker is supervised by 3 mukhyasevikas in each ICDS project. Under the medical component of the scheme, one medical officer, 2 lady health visitors and 4 auxiliary nurse midwives are attached to the primary health centre to strengthen the health infrastructure. For the implementation of the ICDS schemes, a State level coordination committee and district and sub-divisional level coordination committees have been constituted. During the Sixth Plan period it is proposed to set up more ICDS projects in the State, so that by the end of the Plan period there will be one ICDS project in each district. Accordingly, three new Centrally sponsored ICDS projects are proposed to be set up out of which one project is proposed to be set up during 1979-80 in the Shamatorr-Noklal block. In addition, two new ICDS projects are proposed to be set up from the State funds during the Sixth Plan period

Award of Scholarship to Physically Handicapped Students: This is a new scheme under which the department of social welfare awards scholarship to deserving physically handicapped students reading in class I to class VIII. During 1978-79 Rs. 0.14 lakhs was spent for this scholarship to 42 physically handicapped students. In 1979-80 it is proposed to cover more students under the scheme

Blind School: To cater to the needs of blind children, a blind school was set up by the department at Pherima in 1977-78. Since it is still at the initial stage there are only 8 students in the school at present. A braille teacher is in charge of the school with a craft instructor and other staff assisting him. The blind students are provided with free hostel facilities, food and clothing. It is proposed to give them education up to the primary level in the braille system. In addition, training in vocational trades such as bamboo and cane-work and carpentry is given to the inmates.

Welfare Extension Project (original pattern): The social welfare advisory board was set up in 1958 with the object of assisting voluntary organisations for rendering social welfare services. The State board has set up welfare extension projects (original pattern) in Mokokchung, Kohima and Phek districts. All the three projects have five centres each and are functioning under their respective project implementing committees headed by the local administrative officers. The projects aim at providing adequate services to children through the period of growth to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. The main activities of these projects are conducting balwadis through the gram-sevikas and providing maternity and child welfare services through the *dais*. In the balwadis, children of 3-6 years age group are imparted pre-school training through informal education. They are also provided with supplementary nutrition, medical check-up and immunisation to bring about an allround development of the child.

W.E.P. (BORDER AREA)

In addition, the State board set up a border area project in the Mon District in 1977-78. The services rendered by the five centres of the project are the same as that of the welfare extension projects (original pattern). The administrative set-up is also identical in both the projects. The State board has proposed to set up four more border area projects during the Sixth Plan which include one project to be set up during 1979-80. In addition to the balwadis run by the State board, there are five more balwadis functioning in various parts of the State for which the voluntary organisations concerned receive financial assistance from the State board. The State board proposes to open more balwadis during the IYC.

Holiday Camp Programme: Under this scheme, the board gives financial assistance to voluntary organisations for conducting camps during holidays for 50 children of 15 days duration. During 1978-79 four such camps were conducted benefiting about 200 children.

Creche Programme: The State board proposes to implement the creche programme from 1979-80. Under this programme, children below 6 years of age belonging to working and ailing mothers of poor income group will be taken care of by *ayahs* in the creche units. The State board would also provide financial assistance to voluntary organisations for running creche units.

Vocational Training Centre for Physically Handicapped: The Nagaland Gandhi Ashram, Chuchuyimlang, has set up a vocational training centre for physically handicapped children (other than blind) in 1977-78, with financial assistance from the State social welfare department. A plot of land has been acquired for this purpose and construction of building has started recently. At present there are only about six trainees in the centre and they are imparted training in various vocational trades, such as carpentry, canework, tailoring, etc., by instructors and other staff of the centre. □

Tamil Nadu

ACCORDING TO the 1971 census the population of children in the State between 0-14 years is 15,562,040 which constitutes 37.76 per cent of the total State population. The infant mortality rate which is considered to be the index of the general state of public health of the community is very high in Tamilnadu—120 per 1000 live births according to the sample registration survey. One eighth of the deaths among infants are due to pre-maturity-birth which is directly related to maternal malnutrition. Nutritionally, the incidence of vitamin 'A' deficiency is estimated to be 20.5 per cent among pre-school children, the incidence of 'B' deficiency 11.7 per cent and the incidence of iron deficiency anemia 52 per cent. The number of children who suffer from

physical handicap is estimated to be 74,000 excluding the number of mentally retarded children. Child labour prevails in almost all trades and it is estimated that there are over 700 thousand children in various occupations.

In Tamilnadu besides the education department, which looks after the educational needs of children, the social welfare department and the department of correctional administration work for the welfare of children. The departments have specific programmes for normal children, the physically handicapped children of working mothers, destitutes, and orphans and delinquents.

The major programme under child welfare in the social welfare department is the establishment of balwadis in the rural areas and urban slums. The programme was launched in 1962 and now the State has 4,100 balwadis spread throughout Tamilnadu. These balwadis in addition to providing pre-school education, now serve as an omnibus medium for routing all the early childhood services in an integrated manner. This programme is extended every year, and from this year, 9,000 more balwadis will be started within the next five years. The State is implementing three ICDS projects sponsored by the Government of India (in Madras and Tahlli in the Dharmapuri and Nilakottai in the Madurai districts) and continue the Government of India sponsored schemes of integrated child welfare demonstration projects and the family and child welfare projects. Besides, under the Madras urban development programme a maternal and child welfare project with 100 balwadis is functioning in Madras slums with assistance from the World Bank. Tamilnadu has initiated and expanded the programme designed to reach pre-school children, pregnant and lactating mother providing supplementary food. The total number of beneficiaries is 600 thousand through balwadi programme and special nutrition programme. The SNP is in operation in Madras, Madurai and 33 municipalities 4 panchayat unions and 21 tribal areas. The State was the first to establish the primary school lunch programme. Through the applied nutrition programme, besides supplementary food, nutrition education to mother, school children and pre-school children is also aimed at.

Special attention is given to the physically handicapped children. They are given free hearing aids, artificial limbs and other prosthetic aids. During the IYC the State has announced a scheme for supply of such prosthetic aids to all physically handicapped children. Free bus passes will be given to all the physically handicapped children. Scholarships will be given to the physically handicapped children studying from 1st standard to 8th standard.

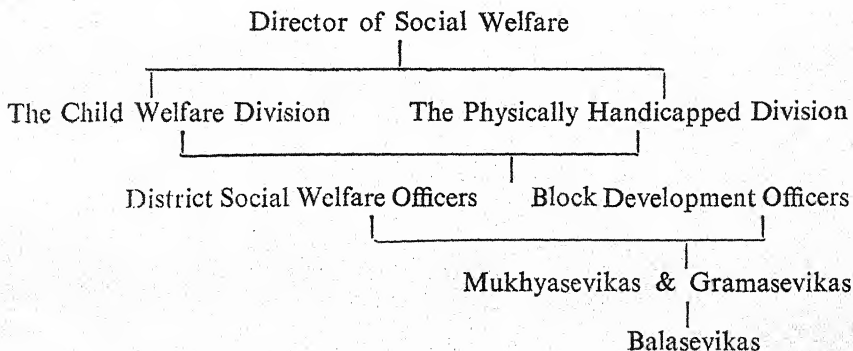
A sum of Rs. 2.5 crores is allotted in the budget towards child welfare. This constitutes about 75 per cent of the departmental budget.

A massive integrated nutrition project is contemplated to be started from the IYC with World Bank assistance. This project will cover 170 blocks in 6 districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, Madurai, Ramnad, Pudukottai and Tirunelveli. Each village will have a nutrition centre, through which supplementary nutrition to children and mothers will be given. To have a long lasting improvement in the nutritional status of the children, a massive

nutrition communication will be organised through mass media.

The objective of the department of correctional administration is to provide care, treatment (correctional), training, both educational and vocational, and rehabilitation of institutionalised juvenile delinquents, youthful offenders, destitutes, and uncontrollable children, under the provision of Tamil Nadu Children's Act of 1920 as amended in 1958. The department runs 6 reception homes and 8 approved schools and assist 7 private reception homes and 50 private schools. These schools have a strength of 5,000 children who are given regular education and vocational training on various skills which include book binding, carpentry, weaving, tailoring, metal work, blacksmithy, matweaving, masonry, gardening and agriculture, band music, dancing, dairy farming, etc. The rehabilitation measures include restoration to parents, job placements, marriages and absorption of students as teachers in the institutions, etc. For children who are desirous of establishing their own trade, a lump sum grant is given by government. The budget of the department is Rs. 1.15 crores.

Voluntary agencies play a prominent role in the welfare of children and the State Government encourages the voluntary efforts. Grants have been instituted for various activities. Under the destitute children grant Rs. 21 lakhs was given as grant in 1978-79. The provision has been increased to Rs. 28 lakhs during 1979-80. Approximately 4,000 children are benefited under the scheme. The social welfare board in Tamil Nadu is assisting voluntary agencies. About 100 orphanages are receiving grants every year for the improvement of their existing services to children by way of better food, clothing, books, equipment, furniture, etc. About 300 voluntary agencies receive grant to run pre-school education centres in rural areas and urban slums and 60 institutions for running creches for children of working mothers. Some of the other areas of grant assistance are, children's clinics which give medical aid to children in uncovered areas. The social welfare board gives full grant to institutions for taking children on holiday camps. About 2,000 children are taken on this educational and recreational trip annually for 15 days. The organisational set up for delivery of children services in the State is as below:



Tripura

The child welfare programmes are implemented by the directorate of social welfare through the block development officers. At the block level the *mukhyasevikas* and *gramasevikas* assist the block development officer in the supervision and implementation of the programme. The district social welfare officers extend technical control over the programme.

By and large the programmes run by government fulfil the objectives of the programme. However, in view of urgency of the needs of children the existing schemes must be expanded considerably and larger funds allotted.



Tripura

THE TRIPURA State Government has planned a number of different programmes to celebrate the IYC. Although the government will coordinate and provide funds for these programmes, it is also encouraging a strong grassroots approach to their planning and implementing. They are trying to encourage people in the villages and at the block level, through the medium of the gram panchayats, to make their own programmes and to implement these, as far as possible, themselves. About Rs. 3,000 has been made available to each block for this purpose.

The State Government wants to involve as many children as possible in these programmes. They do not want to have something 'just for Agartala, something posh', which leaves out the many children in the rural areas.

A twelve-point programme was drawn up to commemorate this special year for children. There is support for this programme at all levels because many of its features stem from suggestions made at the grassroots level by the gram panchayats. The State Government has been trying to develop some consciousness among the gram panchayats of responsibility for children.

Perhaps the most important (and certainly at Rs. 14 lakhs the most expensive) of the programmes for the IYC is the opening of 600 new balwadi centres for children between 3-6. Another important and badly needed item is the setting up of destitute children's homes in three districts. Two of these have already been opened in Agartala and Shantibazar. A third will be opened in Dharmanagar.

In addition to opening and financing these homes, the State Government has donated land and buildings in Agartala worth over Rs. 3 lakhs to Mother Teresa to start a children's home.

Two important health programmes will also be implemented this year. Children's wards will be opened in two district hospitals, those at Udaipur and Kailashar. Immunisation of all balwadi children in Tripura will be carried

out by the health directorate. This will include vaccinations for smallpox, cholera, triple antigen and polio.

Another important item is a nutrition programme for all the balwadis opened this year. This will be implemented by the gram panchayats. All the children coming to the balwadi will be given a meal of rice and dal during the morning programme.

PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTRATION

The most serious problems are in implementing the nutrition programme and the new balwadi programme. It takes a great deal of effort to get food to the balwadi centres and some of the officers and welfare supervisors have shown a disinclination to do the work required. Special officers may be needed to implement this programme in the long run as it is a heavy responsibility.

The opening of 600 new balwadis in a single year has presented many of its own problems. Difficulties have been encountered in recruiting suitable staff for the balwadis, giving them training, obtaining and constructing balwadi buildings, finding accommodation in the villages for the workers, equipping the balwadis and getting food and other supplies to the workers in the more remote areas. The distances some of the girls have to go on foot in order to reach the villages in the more backward areas have also caused problems.

The panchayats have an important role to play in the balwadi programme. Previously the centres where they would be established were selected by the social education department on the basis of requests made by the villagers themselves that a balwadi be established in their area. Some balance in the number per block was made. Now the panchayats are selecting the locations for the balwadis. Each panchayat is given a certain quota and they select the villages where these are to be placed.

Recruitment

Originally it was thought that the balwadi worker would be selected locally, that a girl could be recruited from each village where the panchayat had decided to place a balwadi. It was not possible, however, to get a qualified girl from each village. Some of the villages are so backward, especially in the tribal areas, that it was not even possible to get a girl who had read up to class three.

The strategy finally adopted by the Education Minister for recruitment was to invite applications from girls who were matriculates, then a girl from the closest village to the balwadi was selected for appointment. That way, the girl could still be fairly close to her own home and family.

Where it was not possible to get matriculates, non-matriculates were hired. Balwadi workers who are matriculates are paid Rs. 175 per month in the



beginning. Girls who are non-matriculates are paid Rs. 125 per month.

A major criterion for selection was to give emphasis to girls who came from poor families. In addition, the State Government has not selected anyone with a close relative already in government service. Generally they have tried to place Bengali girls in Bengali areas and tribal girls in tribal areas matching the language of the balwadi worker with that of the village.

Selection of the school mother or *gram lakshmi*, who assists the balwadi worker, is done by the panchayats. She is selected from the village in which the balwadi is placed. It is her job to assist the balwadi worker. Sometimes she helps bring the children to school, sees that they are clean, helps to keep the balwadi clean, and also looks after the food. She is paid Rs. 120 per month.

Training

The Tripura social education department has a well-established balwadi programme. Starting in the early sixties with a few small balwadis, the programme was gradually expanded through the years until it grew to over 600 balwadis by 1978. About 200 of these balwadis are in blocks covered by the ICDS, which has received strong support both from the Government of India and the UNICEF. The female balwadi workers, or *gramsevikas*, trained under the old social education scheme, received at least three months' training prior to their appointment to a balwadi. The anganwadi workers in the ICDS scheme received a minimum of four months' careful training which also included coverage of the use of selected items of montessori apparatus. About half of the social education balwadi workers also received training in the use of this apparatus. It has not been possible to give this type of training to the new balwadi workers. There are no funds to give them long training and no institution large enough to accommodate them in any case. They are, instead, being given orientation through a series of group meetings in 5-6 balwadis with the balwadi workers and school mothers.

The balwadi workers for the ICDS blocks are still being given four months' training at a centre in Kakaraban. Fifty girls are receiving training here. Concurrently, the Tripura council for child welfare is giving an 11-month course at the *gramsevika* training centre in Arundhinagar, Agartala. Normally fifty girls are trained in this course.

It remains to be seen, however, whether this type of limited orientation training will adequately prepare the new workers for the important tasks they are required to do. There has been much criticism of the new balwadi programme for this reason. The key to the old programme was that of inspiring balwadi workers with a sense of dedication both to the children and to the community in which they were working. They were multipurpose workers whose responsibilities not only included the children but also, ultimately, the parents and others in the whole community.

The balwadi worker had to know something about health, nutrition, and child care as well as pre-school education, and had to communicate these to

the adults in the community. Responsibilities of this type are difficult to fill without proper and careful training.

Buildings

One requirement of the balwadi programme is that the villagers themselves must supply the land and building. If the villagers build mud walls of 34 × 20 feet for the balwadi, they will be given 10 bundles of GCI sheeting worth about Rs. 10,000 by the government as well as funds for the doors and windows. They have to share some of the expenses, however, and are usually expected to put in about Rs. 1,500 worth of the cost of the building themselves. There is now a feeling on the part of some members of the government that this may be too much of a burden on some of the poorer villages and that the government should be responsible for all the expenses. These could be administered by the panchayats.

Equipment

There are one or two good balwadis in each block, with toys, books, montessori apparatus, and good furniture, including racks, tables and almirahs. For most of the new ones, however, there is very little in the way of funds available for equipment. A list of the minimum in teaching materials required for the balwadis and adult literacy programme has been prepared. It includes slates, chalk, alphabet charts and blackboards. There is not always the sense of responsibility on the part of those making them to do the work well when they are given a large government order. The department would also like to provide more in the way of educational apparatus for the balwadis but this has been difficult to obtain. Furniture too is a problem as it is rather expensive.

Distances of Some Balwadis from Sub-Divisional Headquarters

This is an extremely serious problem for some balwadi workers. Some have to walk 15-20 miles to get to their homes from the village where they are posted. They may have to walk the same distance to get to their sub-divisional headquarters. Dumbarnagar sub-division, in particular, is a very backward and difficult area. There is no road through most of this sub-division. At present, all balwadi workers have to go to the sub-divisional headquarters to collect their salaries. For some this creates immense problems when they have to go on foot.

Problem of Supplies

This is related to the backwardness of many of the villages which are some distance from roads, public transportation and well-stocked bazaars. If the balwadi worker has any requisition for supplies, this is placed with the male social education workers in the area who try to procure the things they need like kerosene, cooking oil, safety pins, and so on. They may not even be able



Tripura

to get such simple things as a kilo of sugar in their own villages. Most of their food has to be procured for them by the male SEWs.

It is not customary for young Bengali girls to go to the bazaar, so someone else has to procure their food for them. This can create great problems. At first the tribal girls who were balwadi workers used to go to the bazaar on their own, but the villagers didn't like this; so now even they have stopped going. Finding some means of providing food for so many balwadi workers—several hundred at the very least—is a tremendous operational problem.

Although the new programmes discussed above have been initiated to celebrate the IYC, there is a very strong feeling at all levels that they should be continued in future years. They should not be something that only happens in this special year because measures for the welfare of children will always be needed in the State.



Declaration of the Rights of the Child

Proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1959
(General Assembly resolution 1386 XIV)

Preamble

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialised agencies and international organisations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals, and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national Governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

Principle 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. Every child, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.



Principle 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end, special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5

The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of State and other assistance towards the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood, and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.



National Policy for Children

RESOLUTION

The Government of India have had under consideration the question of evolving a national policy for the welfare of children. After due consideration, it has been decided to adopt the policy enunciated below:

Introduction

The nation's children are a supremely important asset. Their nurture and solicitude are our responsibility. Children's programme should find a prominent part in our national plans for the development of human resources, so that our children grow up to become robust citizens, physically fit, mentally alert and morally healthy, endowed with the skills and motivations needed by society. Equal opportunities for development to all children during the period of growth should be our aim, for this would serve our larger purpose of reducing inequality and ensuring social justice.

Goals

The needs of children and our duties towards them have been expressed in the Constitution. The resolution on a national policy on education, which has been adopted by Parliament, gives direction to state policy on the educational needs of children. We are also party to the U.N. declaration of the rights of the child. The goals set out in these documents can reasonably be achieved by judicious and efficient use of the available national resources. Keeping in view these goals, the Government of India adopts this resolution on the national policy for children.

Policy and Measures

It shall be the policy of the state to provide adequate services to children, both before and after birth and through the period of growth, to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. The state shall progressively increase the scope of such services so that, within a reasonable time, all children in the country enjoy optimum conditions for their balanced growth. In particular, the following measures shall be adopted towards the attainment of these objectives :

- (i) All children shall be covered by a comprehensive health programme.
- (ii) Programmes shall be implemented to provide nutrition services with the object of removing deficiencies in the diet of children.
- (iii) Programmes will be undertaken for the general improvement of the health and for the care, nutrition and nutrition education of expectant and nursing mothers.
- (iv) The state shall take steps to provide free and compulsory education for all children upto the age of 14 for which a time-bound programme will be drawn up consistent with the availability of resources. Special efforts will be made to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in schools, particularly in the case of girls and children of the weaker sections of society. The programme of informal education for pre-school children from such sections will also be taken up.
- (v) Children who are not able to take full advantage of formal school education shall



Document 2

- be provided other forms of education suited to their requirements.
- (vi) Physical education, games, sports, and other types of recreational as well as cultural and scientific activities shall be promoted in schools, community centres and such other institutions.
 - (vii) To ensure equality of opportunity, special assistance shall be provided to all children belonging to the weaker sections of the society, such as children belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and those belonging to the economically weaker sections both in urban and rural areas.
 - (viii) Children who are socially handicapped, who have become delinquent or have been forced to take to begging or are otherwise in distress, shall be provided facilities for education, training and rehabilitation and will be helped to become useful citizens.
 - (ix) Children shall be protected against neglect, cruelty and exploitation.
 - (x) No child under 14 years shall be permitted to be engaged in any hazardous occupation or be made to undertake heavy work.
 - (xi) Facilities shall be provided for special treatment, education, rehabilitation and care of children who are physically handicapped, emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded.
 - (xii) Children shall be given priority for protection and relief in times of distress or natural calamity.
 - (xiii) Special programmes shall be formulated to spot, encourage and assist gifted children, particularly those belonging to the weaker sections of society.
 - (xiv) Existing laws should be amended so that in all legal disputes, whether between parents or institutions, the interests of children are given paramount consideration.
 - (xv) In organising services for children, efforts would be directed to strengthen family ties so that full potentialities of growth of children are realised within the normal family, neighbourhood and community environment.

Priority in Programme Formation

In formulating programmes in different sectors, priority shall be given to programmes relating to :

- (a) preventive and promotive aspects of child health;
- (b) nutrition for infants and children in the pre-school age along with nutrition for nursing and expectant mothers;
- (c) maintenance, education and training of orphan and destitute children;
- (d) creches and other facilities for the care of children of working or ailing mothers; and
- (e) care, education, training and rehabilitation of handicapped children.

Constitution of National Children's Board

During the last two decades we have made significant progress in the provision of services for children on the lines detailed above. There has been considerable expansion in the health, nutrition, education and welfare services. Rise in the standard of living, wherever it occurred, has indirectly met children's basic needs to some extent. But all this work needs a focus and a forum for planning and review, and proper coordination of the multiplicity of services striving to meet the needs of children. A National Children's Board shall be constituted to provide this focus and to ensure at different levels continuous planning, review and coordination of all the essential services. Similar Boards may also be constituted at the state level.

Role of Voluntary Organisations

The Government shall endeavour that adequate resources are provided for child welfare programmes and appropriate schemes are undertaken. At the same time, voluntary

organisations engaged in the field of child welfare will continue to have the opportunity to develop, either on their own or with State assistance, in the field of education, health, recreation and social welfare services. India has a tradition of voluntary action. It shall be the endeavour of the state to encourage and strengthen voluntary action so that state and voluntary efforts complement each other. The resources of voluntary organisations, trusts, charities and religious and other endowments should have to be tapped to the extent possible for promoting and developing child welfare programmes.

Legislative and Administrative Action

To achieve the above aims, the State will provide necessary legislative and administrative support. Facilities for research and training of personnel will be developed to meet the needs of the expanding programmes and to improve the effectiveness of the services.

People's Participation

The Government of India trust that the policy enunciated in this statement will receive the support and cooperation of all sections of the people and of organisations working for children. The Government of India also calls upon the citizens, State Governments, local bodies, educational institutions and voluntary organisations to play their part in the overall effort to attain these objectives.

Sd.

Secretary to the Government of India.

ORDER

Ordered that a copy of the resolution be communicated to the Cabinet Secretariat, the Prime Minister's Secretariat, all the Ministries/Departments of the Government of India, the Planning Commission, the State Governments and the Governments/Administrations of Union Territories.

Ordered also that the resolution be published in the Gazette of India for general information.

Sd.

August 22, 1974

Secretary to the Government of India



The Child in India

Demographic Profile

Of the 1550 million children in the world, one in every six is an Indian. The 248 million children of India thus comprise nearly 16 per cent of all the world's children.

India's population is rising faster than the world rate, and the addition of some 13 million infants every year gives India one of the world's youngest populations. The 1971 census showed that 42 per cent of the Indian population consists of children under 14 years of age. Children below 6 years comprise 21 per cent of the population.

An index of the population composition is that while the entire population of India in 1911 was 252 million, projections indicate that children alone already numbered 248 million in 1976, and a more recent estimate puts the child population in 1977 at 255 million. The twentieth century will close with the number of children in India almost certainly exceeding the total Indian population of 279 million recorded in the 1931 Census.

Urban-Rural Ratios : An estimated 81 per cent of India's children live in the rural areas. According to population projections for 1976, the rural children number 183.9 million, tribal children 14.9 million and urban children 49.7 million. These projections also indicate that nearly half of India's children (48.7 per cent) are below 6 years of age. Of the 121 million in this age group, 89.7 million live in the villages and 7.3 million in tribal areas, while 24.2 million are in urban areas.

Living Conditions : According to 1976 projections, about 99.4 million children—nearly two-fifths of the total Indian child population—live in conditions adverse to survival. Of them, 48.5 million, or nearly half, are less than 6 years old.

The 1976 estimates place 35.8 million of these youngest deprived children in rural areas, 9.7 million in urban areas and 2.9 million in tribal areas. In the next age group (7-14 years), 50.9 million children live in extreme poverty—37.7 million in the villages, 10.2 million in towns and cities and 3 million in tribal areas.

A more recent estimate (April 1977), indicates that as many as 126 million children may be living below the poverty line.

Birth Rate and Mortality

With a baby born every one and a half seconds, there are 1.7 million births a month and 21 million births a year in India. Balanced against the annual total death rate of 8 million—which includes 3.2 million infants and children—this means that about 13 million children are added to the country's population every year.

The rural birth rate—35.8 per 1000 population—is much higher than the urban birth rate of 28.3 per 1000 population.

Mortality : The child's fight for survival does not always succeed, and for every 1000 babies born alive, 122 die in the first year of life.

Infant and toddler deaths add up to 2 million in the 0-12 month age group and 1.2 million in the 1-4 year group. Together, these deaths account for 40 per cent of the total annual deaths in the country.

The combined mortality rate for the lowest age group (0-4 years) is three and a half times that of the next age group (5-14 years).

The infant mortality rate has fallen steadily during the century, but remains high.

From 204 per 1000 live births in 1915, and 161 per 1000 live births in 1945, the average

national infant mortality rate currently stands at 122 per 1000 live births. However, rural-urban imbalances persist, with the rural rate averaging 131 per 1000 live births as compared to the urban average rate of 81 per 1000 live births. After the first week of life, the infant mortality rate of females is higher than that of males throughout the first year of life.

Life Expectancy: If an Indian child survives the early childhood years, life expectancy for a boy is 53 years and for a girl, 52 years.

Definition

Birth Rate: The number of live births in 1 year per 1,000 population. This will vary with the average age of the population and with the male/female ratio, as well as with other factors.

Infant Mortality Rate: Infants under 1 year of age dying in 1 year, per 1,000 live births. The younger the child at death, and the greater the distance from the registration centre, the less likely it is to be registered either as a birth or death.

Death Rate: The number of deaths registered per 1,000 population. This gives the crude death rate. Deaths may be further analysed by age, by sex, by occupation, by social class, by disease, by district, and by various other relevant factors. Death rates by age-groups may be calculated per 1,000 of population or per 1,000 of that age-group.

Health

Children in India face many health hazards, and many die young for lack of timely health care.

Forty per cent of all deaths in India occur among children below 5 years of age. Of these deaths, about half are of children less than a year old.

In the lowest age group (0-12 months), 50 per cent of deaths are due to dysentery, diarrhoea, respiratory diseases and gastro-intestinal disorders. In the 1-4 year group, mortality seems to be specifically related to respiratory, digestive and parasitic diseases. These in turn are aggravated by poor environmental sanitation, over-crowded living conditions, and malnutrition. Ignorance of simple health precautions also takes its toll.

It is estimated that 30 per cent of all school-going children are suffering from one or other ailment. Of children's illnesses treated at health centres, 56 per cent are reported to be related to intestinal infections, respiratory complaints and nutritional disorders. Eye ailments and defects due to poor diet and poor hygiene are also common, and many children needlessly go blind in early childhood. Tuberculosis is widespread in small children.

Health Services: About 80 per cent of Indians live in rural and tribal areas, but only 30 per cent of hospital beds and 20 per cent of doctors in the country are available there.

Medical care for the rural population is provided by government-run primary health centres. Each centre is expected to serve from 70,000 to 80,000 people, spread over a hundred villages, with the help of two doctors. Some PHCs have only one doctor. Each PHC auxiliary nurse-midwife serves 10,000 people in 10 to 12 villages. The average distance between the village and the health centre is 9 km., and about 87 per cent of people attending the PHCs are from villages within a 6.4 km radius. Many children do not get timely attention because 50 per cent of village women are daily wage earners, and they cannot carry their small children to the PHC without losing family earnings. Under the government's new rural health scheme, villagers trained as community health workers are gradually extending health care to village homes. At the time of childbirth, few women receive skilled assistance; the proportion ranges from 20 to 50 per cent in different parts of the country.

The number of hospital beds for children—about 9,300—is barely 50 per cent of the minimum requirement, and the country has only 25 children's hospitals and 424 paediatric wards—to meet the needs of nearly 250 million children. Most of these are located far from the villages. There are major regional disparities: Bihar, Gujarat and Haryana do not have any children's hospitals at all.

The existing maternal and child health services reach only a small proportion of the women and children who need them. Women in the 15-45 age group constitute nearly 22

per cent of the population, and children in the 0-6 age group comprise another 21 per cent. Meeting the health needs of this 43 per cent of the population remains a major national task.

Water and Health : Water-borne and water-related diseases are the leading killers of infants and children. About 163 million children (0-14 years) in rural India do not have access to safe drinking water, and are thus exposed to infection which can prove fatal.

In 113,000 villages, the drinking water supply is either more than 1.6 km away, or is sub-standard, and is responsible for diseases like cholera and guinea-worm, or problems related to a mineral content too high for health.

In another 214,000 villages, the water supply from wells, streams, tanks, ponds and rivers, is adequate in quantity, but is open to the risk of pollution.

There are at least 185,000 villages where the supply of water is both inadequate and unprotected.

It is estimated that about 8.7 per cent of deaths in the first year of life, 19.1 per cent of deaths in the 1-4 age group and 15.2 per cent of deaths in the 5-15 group are due to diarrhoea.

Nutrition

Malnutrition is a major cause of death among children in India. Every month 1,00,000 children die from its effects. An even larger number of children die of infectious diseases, their poor diet having made them susceptible to infection and vulnerable thereby to death.

Children survive malnourishment depending on the degree of deficiency. For every child who shows clinical signs of malnutrition, there are probably at least 4 children suffering from milder grades of malnutrition without clinically apparent symptoms. There are an estimated 60 million malnourished children in India.

Approximately 80 to 90 per cent of Indian children do not receive adequate amounts of key vitamins and minerals; 75 per cent do not receive adequate calories and about 50 per cent do not receive enough proteins.

Acute diarrhoeal diseases are more frequent and serious among these malnourished children than among those of normal nutritional status.

Pre-School Children : Some 60 per cent of children in the 0-6 years age group suffer from nutritional anaemia and protein-calorie malnutrition in one form or the other. Almost 40 per cent of all deaths in the country occur in this age group and the majority of these fatal cases are attributed to kwashiorkor, vitamin A deficiency and anaemia. Again, three-fourths of the children in this age group have body weights below 75 per cent of the standard weight of well-nourished children, 52 per cent suffer from moderate malnutrition, 23 per cent from severe malnutrition and only 3 per cent can be considered as having normal body weight.

Children from the low socio-economic strata suffer the worst, 80 per cent of them are victims of moderate or severe protein-calorie malnutrition, as shown by their sub-standard body weights.

School-going Children : It is estimated that 22 per cent of the school-going children show one or more signs of nutritional deficiency. The most common are anaemia, and lack of vitamin A and vitamin B-complex. A much higher proportion of school-going children from low socio-economic groups (56 per cent) show signs of moderate protein-calorie malnutrition, while 15 per cent show severe malnutrition, reflected in sub-standard body weights.

Vitamin A Deficiency : About 2.5 million children in India are threatened by blindness in early childhood because their diet lacks vitamin A. Severe vitamin A deficiency is estimated at a million cases. About 12,000 to 14,000 children of the toddler age group go blind every year because of this deficiency. Lack of the vitamin is also behind the night blindness that afflicts about 10-15 per cent of all children.

One out of every four cases of blindness is due to dietary deficiency of vitamin A, and is therefore preventable. The peak incidence of such blindness is in the 1-5 years age group.

Child Nutrition and the Family : Maternal malnutrition is a major contributory factor in

the premature birth of an infant. It has been found that 36 per cent of infant deaths are due to prematurity.

Studies also indicate that when the family size is small, the nutritional level of each child is better, while in larger families, the children born later are more prone to nutritional deficiencies. Research indicates that among the first three children born to a family, only 17 per cent show signs of malnutrition, while among the fourth and younger children 32 per cent had malnutrition symptoms.

Education

A Directive Principle of the Indian Constitution (Article 45) lays down that the state shall endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete 14 years of age. This was to have been achieved within a decade, but has not been realised so far.

The progress has been uneven from state to state, as between the urban and rural areas and as between boys and girls. For example, all urban areas have facilities for elementary and middle school education. In rural areas, 80 per cent of the habitations have a primary school within 1.5 km and over 60 per cent of the habitations have a middle school within 3 km. Out of a total of 575,926 villages in the country, it is estimated that about 48,566 are not served by any school at all.

Education is free for all children up to the secondary stage in 12 states and union territories. In 8 other States and union territories, it is free for all children up to the middle school stage. Another 8 states offer free education for all children up to the middle school stage, and up to a few more years only for girls. Two states offer free education for all children up to the primary school level and one of them offers an additional few years of free education for girls.

School Enrolment : Approximately 4.5 million children are being offered one kind of pre-primary programmes or the other. These form barely 5 per cent of the population in the 3-6 years age group and are mainly from the better-off sections of society.

Enrolment in schools has been slower than expected. Only 80.9 per cent of children in the 6-11 years age group, 37.0 per cent in the 11-14 years age group and 20.9 per cent children in the 14-17 years age group are enrolled in schools. The enrolment level for girls is much lower than that for boys. While the enrolment of boys of the 6-11 years age group is 97.5 per cent, it is only 63.5 per cent for girls of that group. In the 11-14 years age group, the enrolment of boys is 48.7 per cent, but that of girls is only 24.5 per cent. The gap widens further at the high school level (14-17 years) with enrolment of boys at 28.8 per cent and that of girls at just 12.3 per cent.

Dropout Rates : The school enrolment figures provide only one aspect of children's education, another being the rate of dropping out from school.

Out of every 100 children who enter class I, less than half complete class V and only 24 complete class VIII. The dropout rate for girls is much higher. Of every 100 girls who join class I, only about 30 reach class V. Thus, 70 per cent of girls who get enrolled leave school without attaining functional literacy.

Handicapped Children

Four major disabilities afflict at least three million children in the country. Estimates list 2 million mentally retarded, 800,000 blind, 500,000 orthopaedically handicapped and 200,000 deaf children.

These modest estimates do not include the large number of children who are marginally or mildly handicapped. While about 12,000 to 14,000 children go blind every year due to vitamin A deficiency, about 10 to 15 per cent of all children suffer from night blindness. Available data does not give a clear picture of the actual incidence of these and other handicaps.

Services and facilities for the education, training and rehabilitation of handicapped

children are grossly inadequate. Existing services cater to only 4 per cent of the physically handicapped, 2 per cent of the blind, 2 per cent of the deaf and barely 0.2 per cent of the known mentally retarded child population. There are only 800 voluntary organisations and State institutions offering educational and training facilities to about 30,000 handicapped children.

Prevailing social attitudes towards mental and physical handicaps are an additional problem for the handicapped child.

The Deprived Child

The Submerged Segment : An estimated 46 per cent of the population live below the poverty line—48 per cent in the rural areas and 41 per cent in the urban areas. This means that approximately 108 million children live in varying degrees of destitution, 90.5 million of them in the villages and 17.4 million in the towns.

The Depressed Classes : There is a predictable overlapping of the child population living in poverty and that belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes. The vast majority of children belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes live in an environment that hampers even a minimum development, like urban slums, shanty towns, backward villages, and inaccessible tribal areas.

About 21.5 per cent of the total child population belongs to the scheduled castes and tribes. Among the 33.5 million scheduled caste children, 29.6 million live in the rural areas, and 14.8 million of these are below 6 years of age. All but 500,000 of the 15.9 million children of scheduled tribes live in rural areas, and 7.7 million of them are under 6 years old.

Destitute and Vagrant Children : The 1971 census listed 151,000 children as beggars or vagrants—120,000 in rural areas and 30,000 in the towns. Of those listed, West Bengal—with 26 per cent of the national total—accounted for the largest number. Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa have the next largest incidence of beggary, in that order. It is likely that the actual number of children in India pushed into beggary is greater than the census data indicates. Police records show that nearly a third of all beggar children have one or both parents living; the parents themselves use their children for begging. Other children may be victims of cruel exploitation in beggar colonies, where kidnapped waifs and strays are maimed and mutilated and forced to beg. Their earnings go to the so-called beggar barons.

'Throw-away' Babies : It is estimated that about a million babies out of the 21 million born every year become 'throw away' babies, abandoned soon after birth due to various social and economic pressures. Social workers' estimates place the number of destitute, orphaned and abandoned children at between one and five per cent of the total child population. Only about 25,000 of such children are in the care of some kind of institution. In most orphanages, female children outnumber males, reflecting the greater value placed on sons in Indian society.

Children of Migrants : Migrants are usually unskilled, displaced labourers moving from place to place in search of work. They seldom manage to get more than casual daily wages or short-term, seasonal employment. In 1971, the census listed 4.2 million children belonging to migrant families who had been in their place of residence for less than one year. Of these, 3.3 million children were in the rural areas, and 0.9 million in urban areas.

Most migrant families live at subsistence level. They do without protected water supply, without proper housing, sanitation or sewage services, and are often outside the radius of medical and schooling facilities. Migrants' children grow up exposed to disease and disability, and deprived of a settled existence. Formal education barely figures in their lives.

Both boys and girls of migrant families take up petty jobs to add to the meagre family earnings. An urban study showed that while about 19 per cent of the children of settled city-dwellers were workers, child labour among migrant children was as high as 80 per cent. There is no comparable data available on the labour rate among children of rural migrants.

Poor nutrition, low resistance to disease and insanitary conditions combine to undermine



the physical status of the migrant child. While the urban infant mortality rate is otherwise 83 per 1000, in some urban slums and migrant settlements it is as high as 140 per 1000.

Working Children

Lack of data makes it difficult to arrive at a reliable figure of the number of children pushed into the labour force by economic pressures. The 1971 census listed 10.7 million children as workers, but estimates indicate that the total child labour force may be as high as 30 million.

If it is assumed that 5 to 10 per cent of India's children are working, India has the largest number of child workers in the world. These children constitute about 6 per cent of the total labour force in the country.

Of the 10.7 million children classified as workers in 1971 census data, 7.9 million were boys and 2.8 million girls. This data does not seem to adequately reflect the role of girls in the family-based economy. The proportion of girls to female adult workers has been found to be about 10 per cent higher than the proportion of boys to male adult workers.

Where They Work: Where do child labourers work? The majority are in agriculture or farm related work, or in the unorganised sector. Of the 10.7 million listed as child labour in 1971, only those working in the organised sector of the economy are expected to benefit from various child protection laws. Most child workers are outside the scope of such protective legislation. Out of the known figures, about 78.7 per cent work as cultivators and agricultural labourers, and another 8.2 per cent are engaged in livestock raising, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantation and orchard work. About 6 per cent are in manufacturing and processing jobs, and another 6 per cent in household and other industries, with the rest engaged in trade, commerce, transport and storage.

The number of children employed in the unorganised sector is not reflected in census data and can only be guessed at. This sector accounts for children working as domestic servants, helpers in hostels, restaurants, canteens, wayside shops and similar establishments; hawkers, newspaper vendors, porters, shoe-shine boys, sweepers and scavengers, children employed in small workshops and repair shops, and helpers at construction sites engaged in breaking stones, loading and unloading goods. Their hours of work are long, their wages low and uncertain, their working and living conditions bad. They are at the mercy of their employers.

Where They Come From : According to the 1971 data, about 93 per cent of child workers belong to rural areas. They constitute 5.3 per cent of the total rural child population. The 7 per cent of child workers found in urban areas constitute 1.8 per cent of the total urban child population. The 1971 data places the incidence of child labour as highest in Andhra Pradesh, which accounts for 15.2 per cent of India's total child labour force, and 9 per cent of the State's labour force. The next highest recorded incidence is in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

Frequent migration seems to encourage early employment of children. Data indicates that as many as 80 per cent of the children of migrants are workers. This is four times higher than the rate among settled populations.

What It Means : Child labour deprives children of educational opportunities, minimises their chances for vocational training, hampers their intellectual development and by forcing them into the army of unskilled labourers, condemns them to low wages all their lives.

It is estimated that if workers under 18 years of age in India could be taken out of the labour force and provided education and vocational training, some 15 to 20 million unemployed adults would be able to find jobs on standard wages.

Exploitation : Existing legislation covering child workers in factories and establishments is not being adequately enforced. There are also areas where no legislative coverage exists, and others where the laws themselves permit early childhood employment.

Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile crime accounts for 3.4 per cent of all cognisable crime in India. Its rate is estimated to be 6.4 per 100,000 population.

Contributing Factors : There seems to be a strong relationship between poverty and the incidence of juvenile crime. It is found that the lower the income of the family, the higher the incidence of juvenile crime. Among the children arrested for crimes under the Indian Penal Code, it was found that 83 per cent belonged to families where the joint income of parents and guardians was less than Rs. 150 per month; 13.4 per cent of families whose income was between Rs. 150 and Rs. 499 per month; 3.12 per cent to families whose income was between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 per month and 0.36 per cent to families whose income was above Rs. 1000 per month.

Among the children apprehended, it was found that 48 per cent were illiterate, 34.6 per cent were below the primary level of schooling and 11.5 per cent were above the primary but below the higher secondary level.

Pattern of Crime : Among the crimes committed by juvenile delinquents are murder, kidnapping, abduction, dacoity, robbery, burglary, theft, riot, criminal breach of trust and cheating. The largest percentage of juvenile crimes fall under the Gambling Act, the Prohibition Act and the Indian Railways Act.

The Spread : About 30 per cent of juvenile crime was reported in Maharashtra, followed by 18 per cent in Gujarat, 16 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 11.5 per cent in Madhya Pradesh.

Among the children apprehended, it was found that 17 per cent had been apprehended for repeated crimes.

Enforcement of Laws : Most of the Children Acts have a clause for providing a 'place of safety' where child offenders can be kept in custody separately from the adult offenders. Despite this, it is estimated that in the various states and union territories of India, there are 10,000 children under 16 years of age confined to prisons along with adult offenders.

Existing legislation in most states does not mention anything about the time limit for detention of the child till he is brought before the court. Often, because of this, children are kept in detention for long periods without being brought before a magistrate.

Children in Need of Day-Care

Many of India's children are neglected during early childhood for lack of day-care services. Shortage of such services often pulls an older sister out of school to shoulder the task, or forces a working mother to take small children to work sites, where they face added hazards.

The 1971 census lists 16.6 million rural children and 2 million urban children less than 6 years old, whose mothers are workers. The 1971 data also lists 31 million women workers, of whom about 20 million belong to the most needy sections of society. About 94 per cent of women labourers work in the unorganised sector where employers do not provide any services for their children. Day-care facilities for the children of these working mothers remain a major unmet need.

What the Law Says : The law does provide for day-care services for children of certain categories of women workers, but many employers do not fulfil legal obligations. Women working in the unorganised sector, or in small establishments are not covered by such provisions. Nor are women as clerks, teachers, nurses, and similar lower-level white collar employees.

Under the Contract Labour Regulation and Abolition Act of 1970, a contractor must provide a creche wherever 20 or more women are employed as contract labour. This is seldom done.

Under the Factories Act (Section 48), every factory ordinarily employing 50 or more women workers has been obliged to provide and maintain creches for children under 6 years old. But this stipulation of the Act is openly violated, and in 1973 there were only 901 factories in the country providing this facility. With the enforcement of the Factories



(Amendment) Act of 1976, the obligation has been extended to every factory employing a minimum of 30 women workers.

The Plantation Labour Act of 1951 stipulates that every plantation employing 50 or more women workers should provide a creche for these workers' children. Strict enforcement of these laws is an urgent need. Day-care services are also badly needed by women workers falling outside the scope of these laws.

Legislation

Legislative support for child welfare services in India is found in the Children Acts of the various states. These laws have a special relevance to the protection and rehabilitation of socially handicapped children such as neglected, destitute, victimised, delinquent and exploited children.

The biggest drawback of the Children Acts is that the 'child' is defined differently from state to state. In Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, a child means a person under 16 years, in Saurashtra and West Bengal a person under 18 years, in Telengana a person under 16 years, and in the rest of Andhra Pradesh a person under 14 years. In the union territories, a child is defined as a boy under 16 years or a girl under 18 years. As inter-state movement of exploited children cannot be prevented, these laws are not as effective as they could have been.

Some states, like Nagaland, Orissa, Sikkim and Tripura, have yet to enact any children's legislation. The union territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep and Mizoram have no institutional arrangements yet to apply the Children Act of 1960.

Protecting the Working Child : The main thrust of the Indian laws concerning child labour has been on the minimum age of employment, medical examination of children and prohibition of night work. In each of these directions, the standards stipulated are below the international levels laid down by the International Labour Organisation. Enforcement of the law is rendered difficult by a combination of factors: economic backwardness forcing the family to supplement its income by letting the children work; lack of educational facilities; the unorganised nature of a good part of the economy; and the smallness of most manufacturing units.

Minimum Age : A major deficiency in the protective legislation is the fact that there is no law fixing a minimum age for employment in agriculture, though it is the main occupation in the country and the bulk of child labour, 78.7 per cent of it, is engaged in this occupation. A minimum age has been fixed however at 12 years for plantations, 14 years in factories and 12-14 years in the case of non-industrial employment. But this leaves the small sector unregulated: for example, the Factories Act itself applies only to factories employing workers above a minimum number.

Medical Fitness : As for legal safeguards for the health of child workers, the law requires medical examination of children up to 18 years of age and that too for industrial employment only. But no standards are laid down for medical fitness. And there is no law in respect of medical examination of children working in the non-industrial sector.

Adoption of Children : The Adoption of Children Bill was introduced in Parliament in 1972, but has yet to be enacted. Its aim is to provide an enabling law for all Indians seeking to adopt the many abandoned, destitute, neglected and orphaned children in the country. This was in pursuance of the directive principle in the constitution of preventing the moral and material abandonment of children (Article 39 f).

The existing Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act covers only that community.

Child Marriage : Throughout the 50 years of its existence, the Sharda Act (The Child Marriage Restraint Act) has been an ineffective legislative showpiece. Although it was meant to prohibit child marriage altogether, the question of validity of a child marriage solemnised in violation of the statutory age requirements remained outside its scope.

The Child Marriage Restraint Amendment Act 1978 raises the minimum age of marriage



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from 18 to 21 for boys and 15 to 18 for girls. Even with this amendment, the violation of the law would not affect the validity of the marriage once it has been conducted but only entail penal consequences. Offences under the Sharda Act have now become cognisable and even Muslim, Parsi and Jewish communities come within its purview even though it does not affect their personal laws. Parental consent no longer exempts a child marriage from the provisions of the amended law. This was a loophole in the original law.

Experience shows that legal changes may not cause marriages to be delayed, unless constructive opportunities are provided to the young persons whose marriages are sought to be postponed till the legally permissible age.



Child Labour in India

According to a recent ILO estimate, there are 52 million working children in the world. Of these, approximately 29 million are from South Asia, 10 million from Africa, 9 million from East Asia and 3 million from Latin America and only one million will originate from developed countries.

Out of the 29 million working children in South Asia, 10.7 million child workers are estimated to be in India (1971 census). Out of total population of 548 million recorded in 1971 census, about 230 million were children below 15 years, *i.e.*, 42 per cent of the total population. The number of child workers according to the 1971 census was 10.7 million as against 14.5 million recorded in 1961 census. This steep decline can be assigned to the conceptual differences in the definition of 'worker' adopted in the 1971 census. Proceeding logically on the basis of the increase in population and the trends in the economy, the actual volume of child labour is likely to be much higher than the estimated 10.7 million from 1971 census. Children constitute 5.9 per cent of the total labour force of the economy.

The percentage of child labour to total population is as high as 9.24 in Andhra Pradesh whereas it is as low as 1.30 per cent in Kerala. Of the bulk of child labour in the country, nearly 93 per cent are in rural areas and the rest in urban areas. According to ILO estimate, 80 per cent of these working children would be classified as 'unpaid family workers'. The great majority of these children are in agriculture or in small scale industries in rural area and in workshops, petty shops and quasi family undertakings in urban areas. Seventynine per cent of the child workers are said to be employed as cultivators, agricultural labourers, all over the country. Eight per cent are engaged in livestock, forestry, plantation, etc., about 6 per cent in manufacturing and processing and another 6 per cent in household and other services/industries and the rest in trade, commerce and transport.

The first all India Agricultural Labour Enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Labour revealed that 4.9 per cent of the total agricultural labour force were children in 1950-51. It was 7.7 per cent in 1956-57. 7.4 million children are engaged in agriculture according to the 1971 census. The Rural Labour Enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Labour revealed that child agriculture labourers constitute 6 per cent of the total agricultural labour force in 1964-65.

Like most problems in India, child labour emerges out of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the economy. Children are often forced to work due to economic needs and social conditions. Whatever might be the conditions leading to the children seeking employment—for economic considerations or otherwise, it would appear that the children frequently work under conditions detrimental to their health, welfare and development. Most of these children have never been to school or have dropped out of school at some stage or the other. A working child is deprived of education, training and acquiring skills which are pre-requisites for earning, sustaining and for economic development. The perception of child labour as a social problem has become an important feature of welfare consciousness among the public, trade unions, welfare and social service organisations and the state.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Article 24 of the Indian Constitution lays down

"No child below the age 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment."

Article 39(c) lays down that 'the health, strength of workers-man, woman and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocation unsuited to their age or strength.'

Article 39(f) proclaims

"That childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

OTHER LEGISLATIONS

With a view to eradicate the problems of child labour the following legislations have been enacted regulating the employment of children:

The *Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933*. The Act defines 'child' as a person who is under the age of 15 years. The Act prohibits the making of agreements to pledge the labour of children and the employment of children whose labour has been pledged. The Act also lays down that any agreements or contracts to pledge the labour of a child is void and imposes penalties on any such agreement or employment of a pledged child.

The second Act relates to the *Employment of Children Act, 1938*.

Section 3(1) No child who has not completed his fifteenth year shall be employed or permitted to work in any occupation —

- (a) connected with transport of passengers, goods or mails by railway, or
- (b) connected with a port authority within the limits of any port, or
- (c) connected with cinder picking, clearing of an ash pit or building operation, in the railway premises, or
- (d) connected with the work in a watering establishment, at a railway station, involving the management of a vendor or any other employee of the establishment from one platform to another or into or out of a moving train, or
- (e) connected with the work relating to the construction of railway station or with any other where such work is done in close proximity to or between the railway lines.

Sec. 3(3) No child who has not completed his fourteenth year shall be employed or permitted to work in any workshop where any of the processes set in the schedule is carried on.

The Schedule

- (1) bidi making; (2) carpet weaving; (3) cement manufacturing, including bagging of cement; (4) cloth printing, dyeing and weaving; (5) manufacture of matches, explosives and fire-works; (6) mica-cutting and splitting; (7) shellac manufacture; (8) soap manufacture; (9) tanning; and (10) wool cleaning.

Several other legislations and Acts have laid down special provisions and clauses pertaining to the employment of children.

I. The 'child' is defined as follows in the different Acts:

1. *Beedi & Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966*

Sec. 2(b) 'Child' means a person who has not completed 14 years of age.

2. *Factories Act, 1948 and Minimum Wages Act, 1948*

Sec. 2(c) 'Child' means a person who has not completed his fifteenth year of age.

3. *Mines Act, 1952*

Sec. 2(c) 'Child' means a person who has not completed his fifteenth year.

4. *Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961*

Sec. 2(c) 'Child' means a person who has not completed his fifteenth year.

5. *Plantations Labour Act, 1951*

Sec 2(c) 'Child' means a person who has not completed his fifteenth year.

II. The minimum age of employment of a child is given in various Acts as follows:

1. *Factories Act, 1948*

Section 67 : No child who has not completed his fourteenth year shall be required to or allowed to work in any factory.

2. *Mines Act, 1952*

Section 45 : No child shall be employed in any mines nor shall any child be allowed to be present in any part of mine which is below ground or in any (open cast working) in which any mining operation is carried on.

The minimum age for employment in mines above ground is 15 years.

3. *Plantations Labour Act, 1951*

Section 24 : No child who has not completed his twelfth year shall be required or allowed to work in any plantation.

4. *Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1958*

Section 109 : No person under fifteen years of age shall be engaged or carried to sea to work in any capacity in any ship, except

- (a) in a school ship or training ship, in accordance with the prescribed conditions; or
- (b) in a ship in which all persons employed are members of one family; or
- (c) in a home-made ship of less than two hundred tons gross; or
- (d) where such person is to be employed on nominal wages and will be in the charge of his father or other adult near male relative.

5. *Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961*

Section 21 : No child who has not completed his fifteenth year shall be required or allowed to work in any capacity.

6. *Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966*

Section 24 : No child who has not completed his fourteenth year shall be required or allowed to work in any industrial premises.

7. *State Shops and Commercial Establishments Acts*

The minimum age of employment in shops and commercial establishments is 12 years in Bihar, Gujarat, J&K, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Goa, Daman and Diu & Manipur, and 14 years in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Delhi, Chandigarh, Pondicherry and Meghalaya. The minimum age of employment is 15 years in Maharashtra. There are no separate shops and commercial establishments Acts in Andaman & Nicobar, Arunachal Pradesh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep, Nagaland & Sikkim.

8. *Radiation Protection Rules, 1971*

Persons below 18 years cannot be employed under the Radiation Protection Rules, 1971.

9. *Apprentices Act, 1961*

Section 3(a) A person shall not be qualified for being engaged as an apprentice to undergo apprenticeship training in any designated trade, unless he is not less than 14 years of age.

10. *The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933*

Section 3 : An agreement to pledge the labour of a child (below 15) shall be void.

III. Prohibition of allowing children to work in hazardous occupations under the Factories Act, 1948 is given below:

1. *Factories Act, 1948*

Section 22(2) : No young person shall be allowed to clean, lubricate or adjust any part of prime mover or of any transmission machinery while the prime mover or transmission machinery is in motion, or to clean, lubricate or adjust any part of machine if the cleaning, lubrication or adjustment thereof would expose the young person to risk of injury from any moving part either of that machine or of any adjacent machinery.

Section 23(1) : No young person shall work at any machine to which this section applies unless he has been fully instructed as to the dangers arising in connection with the machine and the precautions to be observed and—(a) he received sufficient training in work at machine, or (b) is under adequate supervision by a person who has a thorough knowledge and experience of the machine.

Section 23(2) : Sub-Section (1) shall apply to such machines as may be prescribed by the (State) Government, being machines which in its opinion are of such a dangerous character that young persons ought not to work at them unless the foregoing requirements are complied with.

Section 27 : No child shall be employed in any part of a factory for pressing cotton in which a cotton-opener is at work.

Provided that if the feed-end of a cotton opener is in a room separated from the delivery end by a partition extending to the roof or to such height as the inspector may in any particular case specify in writing; children may be employed on the side of the partition where the feed-end is situated.

Section 34(2) : The (State) Government may make rules prescribing the maximum weights which may be lifted, carried or moved by children employed in factories or any class or description of factories or in carrying on any specified process.

IV. The hours of work for children are regulated as follows:

1. *Factories Act, 1948*

Section 71(a) : No child shall be employed or permitted to work in any factory for more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day.

2. *Minimum Wages (Central) Rules 1950*

Section 24 : The number of hours which shall constitute a normal working day shall be $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours in case of a child.

3. *Plantations Labour Act, 1951*

Section 19 : No child shall be required or allowed to work on any plantation for more than 40 hours a week.

4. *State Shops and Commercial Establishments Acts*

The hours of work for young persons in shops and commercial establishments are 7 per day in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Pondicherry and West Bengal; 6 per day in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Jammu & Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi; 5 per day in Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa and Punjab and 3 per day in Rajasthan.

5. *Apprentices Rules, 1962*

Section 8 : The weekly hours of work of an apprentice while undergoing practical training shall be as follows :

- (i) The total number of hours per week shall be 42 to 48 hours (including the time spent on related instructions);
- (ii) Apprentices undergoing basic training shall ordinarily work for 42 hours per week including the time on the related instructions;
- (iii) Apprentices during the second year of apprenticeship shall work for 42 to 45 hours per week including the time spent on related instructions;
- (iv) Apprentices during the third and subsequent years of apprenticeship shall work for the same number of hours per week as the workers in trade in the establishments in which the apprentices is undergoing apprenticeship training. Provided, however, that short term apprentices may be engaged to work up to a limit of 48 hours per week.

V. Children are prohibited from working at night according to the following Acts:

1. *Factories Act, 1948*

Section 71(b) : No child shall be employed or permitted to work in any factory during night.

(For the purpose of this Section 'night' shall mean a period of at least twelve consecutive hours which shall include the interval between 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.)

2. *Plantations Labour Act, 1951*

Section 25 : Except with the permission of the State Government, no child worker shall be employed in any plantation otherwise than between the hours of 6 a.m. and 7 p.m.

3. *Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966*

Section 25 : No young person shall be required or allowed to work in any industrial premises except between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m.

(Young person means a person who has completed 14 years of age but has not attained 18 years of age).

4. *State Shops and Commercial Establishments Acts*

Night work for children and young person also prohibited under State laws relating to shops and commercial establishments. The children and young person are allowed to work between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry; 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. in Bihar and Kerala; 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. in Jammu & Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh; 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. in Karnataka; 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. in Orissa and Rajasthan and 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. during Winter and 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. during summer in Delhi. They cannot be employed after 8 p.m. in West Bengal and Tripura.

5. *Apprentices Rules, 1962*

Section 8(2) : No apprentice, other than a short term apprentice, shall be engaged in such training between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. except with the prior approval of the Apprenticeship Adviser who also shall give his approval if he is satisfied that it is in the interest of the training of the apprentice or the public interest.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

The United Nations declaration of the rights of the child on November 20, 1959 lays down that the child shall enjoy special protection and shall be given opportunities and facilities by law and by other means to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interest of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

The children's charter stipulates that for every child a community which recognises

and plans for his needs protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards and diseases, provides him with safe and wholesome places for play and recreation and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.

PROVISIONS IN ILO

In the interest of the working children all over the world, the International Labour Organisation has adopted 18 conventions as follows :

1. *Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (No. 5), 1919.
2. Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (No. 7), 1920.
3. Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention (No. 10), 1921.
4. *Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stockers) Convention (No. 15), 1921.
5. Minimum Age (non-Industrial Employment) Convention (No. 33), 1932.
6. Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised) (No. 58), 1936.
7. Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised) (No. 59), 1937.
8. Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised) (No. 60), 1937.
9. *Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention (No. 123), 1973.
10. Minimum Age Convention (No. 138), 1973.
11. *Medical Examination of Young persons (Sea) Convention (No. 16), 1921.
12. Medical Examination (Sea farers) Convention (No. 73), 1946.
13. Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (No. 77), 1946.
14. Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations) Convention (No. 78), 1946.
15. Medical Examination of Young Persons (Underground Work) Convention (No. 124), 1965.
16. *Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (No. 6), 1919.
17. Night Work of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations) Convention (No. 79), 1946.
18. *Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised) (No. 90), 1948.

The Government of India have ratified 6 of the 18 conventions adopted by the ILO for children and young persons. Following are the 6 conventions which have been ratified and implemented in the country :

1. Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (No. 5) 1919.
2. Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stockers) Convention (No. 15) 1921.
3. Minimum Age (Underground work) Convention (No. 123) 1973.
4. Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) Convention (No. 16) 1921.
5. Night work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (No. 6) 1919.
6. Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised No. 9), 1948.

One of the most important conventions is the Minimum Age Convention 1973 which prescribed the minimum age as not less than 15 years for developed countries and 14 years for initial fixation by developing countries. For hazardous occupations, the minimum age fixed is 18. Fixing of minimum age for admission to employment needs to be preceded by creation of a suitable enforcement machinery. To set up such a machinery, particularly for the unorganised sectors in agriculture, cottage and heavy industries, small scale industries, etc., becomes a difficult task in a developing country.

A Resolution was adopted in the International Labour Conference in its 65th Session in

*Ratified by India.

1979 in the International Year of Child for the protection and elimination of child labour and for the transitional measures to be adopted by the countries (Please see next page).

Notwithstanding the constitutional provisions, Acts and legislations and documentary disapprovals, child labour is an empirical reality present in differential degree in almost all the sectors of our national economy, organised or unorganised, regulated or unregulated.

The National Commission on Labour has observed in its report that the employment of children is more of an economic problem than anything else. The Commission felt that the denial of opportunity to children for their proper physical development and for education is a serious issue keeping in view the larger interest of the society. The Commission has recommended that it is necessary to give the child education in his formative years and this can be ensured by fixing the employment hours of children so as to enable them to attend school. The Commission has also recommended that where the number of children is adequate, the employers, with the assistance of the State Governments, should make arrangements to combine work with education.

The VI Plan aims at universal primary education, increase in employment opportunities and improvement in family incomes. It is hoped that children will thus gradually be weaned away from work and sent to school.

COMMITTEE ON CHILD LABOUR

With a view to studying the problems of child labour and to suggest suitable measures for their protection and welfare, the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has set up a Committee, in its Resolution dated 6/7th February, 1979. The following are the terms of reference of the Committee:

- (i) Examine existing laws, their adequacy and implementation, and suggest corrective action to be taken to improve implementation and to remedy defects.
- (ii) Examine the dimensions of child labour, the occupations in which children are employed, etc., and suggest new areas where laws abolishing/regulating the employment of children can be introduced.
- (iii) Suggest welfare measures, training and other facilities which would be introduced to benefit children in employment.

The Committee has drawn up a plan of action for making an in-depth and diagnostic study on the nature and extent of the problem, adequacy of existing legal framework and the supportive measures. The Committee will be taking up case studies in different blocks in about eight selected states to study the rural conditions and right also be doing sectoral studies in the organised and unorganised sectors where the incidence of child labour is quite high. The Committee has also brought out a questionnaire to elicit information on child labour from the public, the politicians, trade unions, social welfare and other institutions, employers, parents of children and Government organisations. The information received from the questionnaire will be tabulated and utilised in the report of the Committee.

The Committee on Child Labour is expected to make recommendations, *inter alia*, on the following main issues:

- (i) prescribing a uniform minimum age for employment of children under all the Acts,
- (ii) identifying hazardous occupations and banning the employment of children in such occupations,
- (iii) recommending laws, rules, regulations, Acts and legislations for protecting children in employment and for progressive elimination of child labour, and
- (iv) suggesting labour welfare and social welfare measures to protect the working children from exploitation and suitable machinery for enforcement and implementation of provisions adopted for welfare of working children.

A child labour cell has been set up to formulate, coordinate and to implement policies and programmes for the welfare of child labour. At present the cell is assisting the Committee on Child Labour. It is expected to take follow up action on the recommendations of the Committee on Child Labour.

RESOLUTION

concerning the International Year of the Child and the Progressive Elimination of Child Labour & Transitional Measures adopted by the International Labour Conference in its sixty-fifth Session (1979) at Geneva.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Recalling resolution 31/169 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of the Child, with the general objectives of promoting the well-being of children, drawing attention to their special needs and encouraging national action on behalf of children, particularly for the least privileged and those who are at work,

Noting the activities that were undertaken at the national, regional and international levels in preparation for the International Year of the Child and the progress made since,

Convinced that the International Year of the Child provides for all member States an opportunity to review their economic and social policies concerning child welfare and to formulate guidelines in this sphere,

Considering that a new and fair international economic order would greatly contribute towards genuine economic and social development, primarily of benefit to children,

Recalling the endorsement by the ILO of the aims of the International Year of the Child and its pledge to make every effort and lend all support to member States for their earliest possible fulfilment,

Recalling the United Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959, and particularly Principle 9, which stipulates that the child should be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation; that he should not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; and that he should in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development,

Considering that since its foundation the International Labour Organisation has sought to eliminate child labour and to provide protection for children,

Noting with approval the Director-General's Declaration on the International Year of the Child,

Deeply concerned that child labour still remains widespread in many parts of the world and that working children frequently work under conditions including those of exploitation detrimental to their health and welfare,

Recognising the need to ensure that the health and strength and the tender age of children are not abused and that children are not permitted to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength,

Considering that the International Year of the Child should be an occasion to reaffirm with practical measures and deeds that the well-being of today's children is the concern of all people everywhere,

Recalling the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, taken at its 208th Session (November 1978), to request the Member States to supply a report in 1980 under Article 19 of the Constitution on the extent to which effect has been given or is proposed to be given to the Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) and Recommendation (No. 146) of 1973;

1. Calls upon member States to strengthen their effort for the elimination of child labour



and for the protection of children, and in this context —

- (a) to implement the provisions of the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), and, where they not already done so, to ratify this Convention as early as practicable;
- (b) to ensure in particular full recognition of the principle that any work undertaken by children who have not completed their compulsory education shall not be such as would prejudice their education or development;
- (c) to apply the Minimum Age Recommendation, 1973 (No. 146), and the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 124);
- (d) to report in detail in 1980 under the procedure of Article 19 of the Constitution on the progress reached in the implementation of the Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) and Recommendation (No. 146), 1973;
- (e) pending the elimination of child labour, to take all necessary social and legislative action for the progressive elimination of child labour and, during the transitional period until the elimination of child labour, to regulate and humanise it and to give particular attention to the implementation of special standards of children relating to medical examination, night work, underground work, working hours, weekly rest, paid annual leave and certain types of hazardous and dangerous work embodied in a number of ILO instruments;
- (f) to make every effort to extend the provisions of appropriate educational facilities, in order fully to apply compulsory education and to introduce it where it does not exist and, where education is compulsory, to make it effective;
- (g) to ensure that appropriate protective labour legislation applies to all children at work in the sectors of activity in which they are employed;
- (h) to ensure that special attention is given to the provision of fair remuneration and to its protection for the benefit of the child;
- (i) to strengthen, where appropriate, labour inspection and to undertake all other measures conducive to the elimination of child labour;
- (j) (i) to identify the special needs of children to strengthen efforts to improve the general economic and social well-being of the family, and to launch a national campaign aimed at creating awareness among the general public of the adverse effects of child labour on his/her development;
- (ii) to develop international solidarity and cooperation with the developing countries and to activate efforts to establish a new and fair international economic order so as to respond more effectively to the basic measures undertaken by each State for better child protection.

2. Calls upon governments and employers' and workers' organisations to assess the situation of child work and to assist the competent bodies and the ILO to strengthen their action programme for children.

3. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to instruct the Director-General to continue and reinforce the ILO's action through such means as factual surveys of national situations and practices for the elimination of child labour and for the protection of children at work, and to make the necessary preparations for a global revision of the relevant ILO instruments.



CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS ACTIVITIES IN DIFFERENT STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES

State/Union Territory	Cultiva- tors	Agricul- tural labourers	Livestock, forestry, etc.	Mining and quarrying	Manufac- turing		Construc- tion	Trade and commerce	Transport, storage and communica- tions	Other Services
					processing services & repairs including household industry	(6)				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
Andhra Pradesh	342,618	811,703	245,520	5,605	108,818	13,042	35,300	4,849	59,037	
Assam	154,347	39,097	14,361	146	4,479	524	6,346	486	18,794	
Bihar	321,004	609,271	53,990	3,169	30,924	1,438	12,863	2,231	24,469	
Gujarat	213,979	232,176	21,108	1,600	10,413	3,436	12,063	1,627	10,259	
Haryana	67,551	39,558	14,472	309	7,019	1,317	2,443	506	4,651	
Himachal Pradesh	59,914	4,003	4,249	44	913	464	467	123	1,207	
Jammu & Kashmir	52,760	2,569	6,492	40	5,105	462	818	967	1,250	
Kerala	4,925	15,557	13,214	272	27,902	514	4,252	1,237	29,116	
Madhya Pradesh	475,990	488,302	70,857	1,470	44,126	3,341	9,408	1,473	17,352	
Maharashtra	281,113	550,504	55,298	1,508	43,458	6,636	22,900	2,972	23,968	
Manipur	14,230	383	31	—	1,563	15	115	7	36	
Meghalaya	22,964	3,843	2,260	63	239	50	184	80	757	
Karnataka	196,357	331,604	113,402	2,458	65,716	9,654	19,045	7,149	29,014	
Nagaland	13,309	154	25	1	29	17	84	9	98	
Orissa	153,400	230,880	42,704	1,108	19,363	670	6,889	1,119	36,374	
Punjab	107,563	83,175	151,013	32	14,244	1,132	5,211	924	5,390	
Rajasthan	348,692	92,411	97,025	1,607	20,760	3,123	5,998	1,525	16,248	
Sikkim	14,660	503	100	1	36	34	55	51	221	
Tamil Nadu	154,155	335,806	62,029	2,205	62,703	6,885	3,275	4,193	21,402	
Tripura	9,315	5,988	431	—	295	43	501	63	854	
Uttar Pradesh	677,874	451,485	20,376	479	91,275	3,511	20,163	6,228	54,735	

West Bengal	143,114	237,291	30,436	698	33,458	1,904	18,929	2,680	42,933
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	80	105	129	1	83	11	63	5	95
Arunachal Pradesh	16,945	553	32	—	21	6	46	—	322
Chandigarh	64	37	9	—	211	102	170	17	476
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,911	883	138	—	36	37	10	1	66
Delhi	357	544	154	11	7,264	782	2,513	339	5,053
	298	491	66	11	1,199	39	67	15	88
Goa, Daman & Diu	1,216	1,518	1,184	42	462	432	591	156	1,405
L.M. & A. Islands	—	—	8	—	66	8	2	—	13
Pondicherry	88	1,694	670	1	452	85	373	16	346

SOURCE : Census of India, 1971.



Document 4

NUMBER OF CHILD WORKERS IN STATES/UNION TERRITORIES IN 1971

Sl. No.	States/Union Territories	Total child workers (in thousand)	Per cent of child workers to total population	Per cent of child workers to total workers	Per cent of child workers to total children
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	India	10,738	1.96	5.95	4.66
<i>States</i>					
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1,627	3.74	9.03	9.23
2.	Assam	239	1.60	5.64	3.40
3.	Bihar	1,059	1.88	6.06	4.41
4.	Gujarat	518	1.94	6.17	4.50
5.	Haryana	138	1.37	5.20	2.95
6.	Himachal Pradesh	71	2.05	5.55	4.97
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	70	1.52	5.09	3.53
8.	Karnataka	809	2.76	7.94	6.50
9.	Kerala	112	0.52	1.80	1.30
10.	Madhya Pradesh	1,112	2.67	7.27	6.10
11.	Maharashtra	988	1.96	5.37	4.74
12.	Manipur	16	1.49	4.31	3.50
13.	Meghalaya	30	2.96	6.71	6.80
14.	Nagaland	14	2.71	5.34	7.14
15.	Orissa	492	2.24	7.18	5.29
16.	Punjab	233	1.72	5.95	4.16
17.	Rajasthan	587	2.28	7.29	4.01
18.	Tamil Nadu	713	1.73	4.84	4.58
19.	Tripura	17	1.09	3.94	2.47
20.	Uttar Pradesh	1,327	1.50	4.85	3.58
21.	West Bengal	511	1.15	4.13	2.68
<i>Union Territories</i>					
22.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1	0.87	2.17	2.27
23.	Arunachal Pradesh	18	3.85	6.67	10.05
24.	Chandigarh	1	0.39	1.16	1.12
25.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	13	4.05	8.57	11.76
26.	Delhi	17	0.42	1.38	1.08
27.	Goa, Daman and Diu	7	0.82	2.57	2.14
28.	Lakshadweep	—	—	—	—
29.	Pondicherry	4	0.85	2.84	2.15

SOURCE : *Census of India, 1971, series 1—India Paper 3 of 1972—ECONOMIC Characteristics of Population*, Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 2-71.



Seminar on Children's Services in the 'Eighties Possibilities and Challenges

A seminar on 'Children's Services in the 'Eighties : Possibilities and Challenges' sponsored by the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, was held at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Bombay, on June 11-14, 1979. It was inaugurated by Mrs. Shanti Sadiq Ali, President of Bal Varsh Prathishthan, Bombay.

The objectives of the seminar were:

- (a) to identify the priority needs of children for the next ten years and the services required to meet them.
- (b) to identify the organisational structures required in such services.
- (c) to identify the manpower and training requirements at various levels.
- (d) to identify the shifts in policy required, and
- (e) to review the existing policy and organisational structure in the light of (a, b, c) and (d) above.

The following working papers were prepared for the seminar:

<i>Title*</i>	<i>Author</i>
1. Priority Needs of Children in the 'Eighties	Meenakshi J. Apte
2. Overview of Children Acts	J.J. Panakal
3. Organisational Structures Required to Meet Children's Needs in the 'Eighties	Neera Kukreja Sohoni
4. Manpower and Training Requirements for Children's Services in the 'Eighties	Mandakini Khandekar
5. Shifts Necessary in Policies and Organisation	P.D. Kulkarni

The author of working paper 3 is the programme executive of the Indian Council of Social Welfare, Bombay, and that of working paper 5, a visiting professor at the TISS. The others are on the TISS faculty. The working papers provided a framework for discussions during the seminar. A session was devoted to each of the working papers.

Representatives of the State Governments were requested to prepare background papers incorporating up-to-date information on children's services and organisational structure in their States. Papers were received from the following States and Union Territories : Andaman & Nicobar, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and West Bengal.

The seminar was conducted in eight sessions. Besides inaugural and valedictory sessions, there were six working sessions, of which, five were devoted to discussion of the five working papers. In the sixth, the preliminary report on the seminar was discussed. Dr. M.S. Gore, Director, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, chaired the inaugural and reporting sessions. For other sessions, six senior participants were requested to be the chairmen.

*The first four papers have been published in this volume and a summary of the fifth is given in this 'document'.



INAUGURATION

In her inaugural address, Mrs. Shanti Sadiq Ali gave expression to her views on approaches to planning for children in the 'Eighties. She found that children's "functional needs continued to be structurally compartmentalised." Besides integrated services she favoured planning community development "in such a way that the family's potential to meet these needs is increased and dependence on the state decreased." She noticed the new trend in social welfare services to move away from remedial and institutional approach and stressed the inevitable shifts to preventive, developmental and non-institutional programmes.

Mrs. Sadiq Ali went on to ask the question ".... if we can develop a public distribution system for commodities, what prevents us from developing an effective delivery of services for those who are, as stated officially, 'the nation's supremely important asset?' She pleaded for setting up a watch-dog committee not only to monitor programmes but also to eradicate "bureaucratic approaches from social welfare management."

WORKING PAPER ONE

Mr. Narendra Bihari Lal, Secretary, Harijan and Samaj Kalyan Vibhag, Government of Uttar Pradesh, chaired this session. Mrs. Meenakshi Apte presented her working paper entitled 'Priority Needs of Children in the 'Eighties'.* A record of the discussion on it follows.

The participants touched upon the following aspects.

1. Criteria for setting priorities of needs
2. Priorities
3. Services and integration of services
4. Resources for meeting needs
5. Strategies for delivery of services
6. Lack of statistics

Criteria for Setting Priorities: A participant urged that it was necessary to suggest criteria for setting priorities of needs before priorities could be listed. This could be done in two stages: first identify beneficiary groups in order of their need for children's services and then set the priorities. For the first task three criteria were mentioned: (a) regions, (b) sectors of population, and (c) groups within sectors.

This line of thinking was pursued for some time at the end of which many participants agreed that region-wise, rural and tribal areas should be given preference while starting or, expanding children's services. In regard to criterion (b) above, the deprived sections, alternatively termed as economically weaker sections should be given the highest priority. Detailing the composition of these groups the following were listed: the scheduled castes; the scheduled tribes, especially the nomads among the latter, many of whom remain unlisted even in our censuses; the handicapped; and the migrants, especially unorganised labour. A few participants added orphans and children in broken families to the list. Criterion (c) is only an elaboration of the earlier criterion and as an example of smaller groups within a larger sector, the urban poor and slum-dwellers were mentioned by a few participants who had obviously noted the growing trend towards urbanisation mentioned by Mrs. Apte in her working paper.

A couple of participants wanted to add another criterion to the above three, that of age group. They suggested that services for children in the age-group 0-6 should be given priority over those for older children. However, there were an equal number of other participants who disputed the suggestion. According to them the formative years of children

*The paper is published in this volume.

extend much beyond the pre-school stage : giving priorities to only pre-school years often leads to a neglect of services for school-age children with the consequent lack of balanced growth of children. They wanted that priority should be given to children in the age group 0-12 years. The debate on the criterion of age group remained inconclusive.

Priorities : Detailed servicewise priorities were not listed, though health, nutrition, education, safe drinking water and family planning were mentioned by different participants. Many laid stress on a 'package of services.' This term was heard very often. Even so, health services, together with nutrition, were considered to be the single most important item. Providing basic requirements for the very survival, *viz.*, food, and ensuring a healthy climate for growth, was mentioned again and again. Children's health needs were important and as a result, health services needed to be strengthened. Some participants included pre-school and primary education in the package.

The integrated child development services (ICDS) which follow a package-based approach were recommended for rapid expansion in the 'Eighties so as to cover more and more areas. The role of State Governments ought to be more vigorous in this field, said many. They pointed out that this programme had proved to be quite effective. It should, however, be linked with the concerned departments of State Governments. Proper coordination between them was emphasised.

Much stress was laid on the need to have a strong family planning programme. It was included in the package of services.

The conclusion which could be drawn from this part of the discussion is that the participants did not wish to accord priority to any one particular service over the others and that they were in favour of a package of services.

Even so, it may be added that the 'prioritisation' exercise remained incomplete in the end. For example, though the handicapped were identified as those who required services on a priority basis, their needs were not voiced. Also, the needs of tribal children were not considered in sufficient detail. This is partly understandable because a number of topics were taken up for which available discussion time was inadequate.

Services and Their Integration: Having agreed that a package of services was to be opted for rather than individual services, the participants expressed their views concerning various services. They are given below. Each was made by a couple of participants. Not much discussion took place on them.

1. Education for nutrition is as important as providing nutrition through different feeding programmes. It is also a means of making an essentially costly programme less costly. Here, non-formal methods of community education should be followed. More funds should be invested in nutrition education programme.
2. Nutrition is a basic need of children. The institutes of catering should prepare new recipes for introducing in local communities. They would be of use to nutrition education programmes.
3. Minimum health services should be provided. Every child should have a regular health checkup at least twice a year.
4. Provision of good drinking water is essential. Agencies like the UNICEF and the CARE should make their resources available to the States. Safe drinking water was still a scarce commodity in villages.
5. Both pre-primary and primary education should be strengthened.
6. Pre-primary education should be a responsibility of the State. It should be integrated with primary education.
7. The departments of social welfare in State Governments would have a role to play in the field of education. Welfare programmes should be linked with preschool and primary education.
8. Education should be made a reality for children. This would help them in increasing the rate of retention of children in schools.

9. Those who discontinue school after primary level, should be given non-formal education.
10. More and more welfare programmes, such as creches for children, could be co-ordinated with preschool education.
11. Moral and ethical aspects of development should be considered while planning educational curricula.
12. Vocational training programmes should be continued. The employers should be made responsible for the progress of apprentices they select.
13. Women's literacy programmes are important and should include health and nutrition as well. Women's education is important not only for its own sake but also for raising health and nutrition levels in the community.
14. Our nation cannot do without a large-scale family planning programme for an overall development. It can be considered as one of the services for children. Strong disincentives should be introduced to reduce the growing population.
15. A much-reduced population would ensure minimum services for all.

Though the ineffectiveness of the statutory provisions was commented upon, not much time was devoted to a discussion of socio-economic reasons for the situation as it exists today. Similarly, integrated approach to services was recommended by almost all the participants. However, its implications, save for coordinated inter-departmental action, were not discussed in sufficient detail.

Implementation of Services : The stress, in broad and general terms, on the integrated approach, served as the take-off point for a discussion on factors which should be kept in mind while planning and implementing children's services. Three items were considered: (a) resources, (b) strategies for meeting needs, and (c) statistics.

Resources : Availability of resources, their mobilisation and allocation, were discussed at various points during the seminar. The fact was noted that governmental resources for social welfare in general were limited. And, in all probability they would remain so in the 'Eighties as well. Given this reality, it was necessary to, first, make the maximum possible use of such resources, and secondly, to mobilise community resources to a larger extent. There was general agreement on these propositions. Some participants suggested that such beneficiaries as had the capacity to pay should be charged for services rendered to them. All government services, in their opinion, need not be offered free of charge to everybody.

Some participants pointed out that State Governments were not always in a position to devote sufficient amount of money to children's services. They should be helped by the Central Government; more finances than at present should flow from the Centre to the States. In the opinion of some, such Central assistance could be instrumental in reducing inter-State inequalities in the availability of children's services.

A few participants pointed out that some intra-State resource mobilisation could be done by the State Governments themselves. Departments such as agriculture, irrigation and power too could reserve a part of their plan allocations for child welfare programmes. Some participants wanted the State Governments to be alert to intra-State variations and to reduce them as much as possible.

Strategies for Meeting Needs: Questions on strategies were raised in the light of discussion on resources. A few participants came out with the suggestion that in view of the limited resources, either the number of services be restricted or their coverage be limited. Rather than follow such a course which would go against many children in need of services, pleaded some other participants, it would be much more desirable to encourage voluntary agencies to go to rural areas where the need for services was the greatest. At present, most of the voluntary agencies were engaged in rural areas to a limited extent.

Some participants argued in favour of involving the local community in providing services to children since resources were limited. It should be considered as a strategy. Education of parents, especially for good nutrition, with available and local food items was mentioned as

an example.

Another strategy to strengthen children's services would be to train personnel in providing services. Given the resource constraints it was necessary to use it to the maximum. Trained staff would be better able to do it. Trained staff was needed for another reason: inadequate number of voluntary workers. Trained manpower could be taken as a resource for enlarging the scope of services, according to some.

Remarks concerning voluntary agencies and their inadequacies evoked sharp comments from representatives of voluntary organisations who pointed out that official grants to them were not administered efficiently with the consequence that their working was adversely affected. They wanted a better understanding of their problems. They pointed out that they provided many services not given by official agencies.

Some participants pleaded for a better coordination of work done by both official and voluntary agencies.

Lack of Statistics : Lack of adequate statistics on both children's situation and services for them was mentioned. More and better statistics were required on content and coverage of services if more efficient planning was required for programmes in the future.

As an example of requisite detailed data, one participant mentioned the minimum expenditure required for each of the children's services. Such computations would help planners and administrators to realistically assess the situation as regards services.

Some other participants pointed out that not enough was known about the situations in which handicapped children lived and grew up. Surveys could be organised to obtain State-wise data on them. Similarly, studies could be conducted on social change and its impact on children.

The chairman, Mr. N.B. Lal, summed up the session's discussions on various points and said that it was essential to draw up a blue print for children's services in the 'Eighties. His suggestion was that the government should appoint a working group to prepare such a blue print which would provide a package of minimum services in an integrated manner, especially to the deprived sections of population.

WORKING PAPER TWO

Mr. P.V. Bhatt, Secretary, Labour, Social Welfare and Tribal Development Department, Government of Gujarat, was requested to be the chairman for the session. Prof. J.J. Panakal presented his paper entitled 'Overview of Children's Acts.'*

To begin with, some participants representing their State Governments explained the working of their State Children's Acts. These threw up the following points for discussion.

Definition of 'Child' : A number of participants fully endorsed Prof. Panakal's suggestion that there should be a uniform definition of 'child' throughout the country. One participant said that in his State a boy was considered to be a child upto 16 and a girl upto 18. He recommended a similar sex-wise differentiation in the uniform definition as well. Another participant said that both boys and girls were children up to 16 in his State.

Though they wanted a uniform definition, the participants did not take upon themselves the task of making a definite recommendation.

Special Juvenile Courts : There was general unanimity on the need to set up special juvenile courts in adequate number. The consensus was so strong that there was hardly any debate on the point. Everybody agreed that full-time or part-time juvenile courts would help in speedy disposal of cases. It was emphasised that the judicial magistrates for these courts should be adequately trained for their jobs.

Acts Concerning Institutions : A number of participants agreed with Prof. Panakal that the Central Acts—the Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Act and the Orphanages

*The paper is published in this volume.



and Other Charitable Homes (Supervision and Control) Act, were not properly implemented in the country. One participant wanted the Licensing Act to be extended to creches, maternity homes, balwadis, *ashram* schools, etc.

The participant from Kerala explained the working of Orphanages Act in his State and suggested that similar Acts be put on the statute book in all the States. Boards of control could be set up under these Acts in all the States to prevent exploitation of children. This suggestion was made by Prof. Panakal as well and most of the participants agreed stressing the need to control the growth of bogus or ill-managed institutions for women and children.

After-care Services : A few participants expressed the view that once the period of commitment was over, children were let out to fend for themselves. One of them suggested that after care services should form part of the Children Act itself so that a child could have some security after his release from an institution. Another said a child was often branded as a 'jail-bird' in the absence of facilities which could be offered to him after his release.

Yet another participant pointed out that in his State an institutionalised child rarely suffered as an 'out-caste' after his (the child's) release and that the child was given opportunities to mix with others in social and cultural gatherings. However, this participant too felt that much preliminary work was necessary even before a child's release, especially, on license.

In the end, there was general agreement that after care services should be made an integral part of Children's Acts.

Non-institutional Services : One participant recommended that the pros and cons of the Adoption Bill be considered during the seminar. He himself was in favour of a speedy passage for the Bill in Parliament. Another pointed out that the Bill deserved favourable consideration as it could be an instrument for protecting the interests of a child given in adoption. The present Guardians and Wards Act did not provide much security to an adopted child.

Many participants were strongly against foreigners adopting Indian children and said that such adoptions be discouraged. One of them said that Indian children adopted by foreigners and who grew up in a foreign climate could face problems in their education, employment and marriage.

One participant expressed the opinion that if foster care and adoption were to be used for children in institutions under the Children Acts, the Acts should be modified suitably. Else, these two non-institutional services might not be effective for the children concerned.

This prompted another participant to say that these two services could be used not only for delinquent children but for destitute children too, as a non-institutional approach was better suited to child welfare services in a country like India where poverty was the most important problem. This view was endorsed by many participants and it was again suggested that the Adoption Bill should be passed as early as possible.

A few participants, however, cautioned against a hasty decision in the matter and said that if the Bill has been pending for a long time, there must be some reason behind it. The viewpoints of the minorities should be kept in mind while passing the Bill.

Welfare Scheme for Destitute Children: One participant observed that destitute children were admitted to institutions under the Children Acts and also to institutions set up under the new welfare scheme for destitute children. The latter institutions received larger grants than those given to fit person institutions. Since the difference between a delinquent child and a destitute child was only a negligible difference in the Indian context and since destitute children outnumbered the delinquent in the Children Act institutions, argued this participant, grants under the new welfare scheme should be made available to institutions under the Children Acts as well. Another participant supported this view by adding that problems of destitute children in the Children Acts institutions were more genuine than of those admitted to institutions under the new scheme.

Yet another participant took a somewhat different stand in view of the research findings

that nearly 75 per cent of children in the Children Acts institutions were destitute and not delinquent. She wanted these destitute children to be taken out of the purview of the Act under which they came to be treated, in reality, along with delinquent children. If necessary, the Children Acts could be so amended that they concerned themselves with only delinquent and uncontrollable children. The destitute children could be looked after under the new welfare scheme meant for them. The scope of the Children Acts could be narrowed to that extent and that of the newer scheme expanded.

Though different participants linked the Children Acts with the newer welfare scheme, there was no overall review of services under both the acts and the scheme.

General Comments

1. The Children Acts to be more broad based than at present so as to cover all aspects of child care. The widely accepted integrated approach to child welfare should be incorporated in them.
2. Social legislation should be viewed in the light of social development in the country. A large child population would be an impediment to the success of social legislation. Poverty is the crux of the problem of child welfare.
3. Instead of children's courts there should be family courts. Children should not be seen in isolation from their families.
4. There should be a comprehensive review of all the acts concerning children.

Suggestions : In the end, the chairman, Mr. P.V. Bhatt summarised the discussion and listed the following suggestions which reflected the views of the majority of participants.

1. The Government of India should take initiative in having a uniform definition of 'child' all over the country.
2. Special juvenile courts should be set up to deal with children brought before them and specially trained judicial personnel should be entrusted with the work.
3. Aftercare services should form a part of children acts.
4. The Orphanages and Other Charitable Homes (Supervision and Control) Act, 1960 should be implemented throughout the country. Boards of control provided for under it should be set up in all the States in the 'Eighties.
5. The Adoption Bill which is pending before Parliament for a long time should be passed early.

WORKING PAPER THREE

Mr. T.N. Chaturvedi, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, was requested to be the chairman for this session. Mrs. Neera K. Sohoni's paper on 'Organisational Structures Required to Meet Children's Needs in the 'Eighties', was read out for her in her absence.*

The chairman opened the discussion by commenting on the appropriateness of a debate on organisational structures after a review of children's needs and legal aspects. He highlighted the point made in the paper that there was a lack of policy perspective. To him the proposition that our policies were good but that their implementation was inadequate, was untenable. If our organisational structures were inadequate for the tasks meant for them, he argued, the policy makers should take this fact into consideration. A policy should take into account: (i) the political will, (ii) the climate of public opinion, (iii) administrative indifference, if any (iv) resistance by vested interests, and (v) importance of evaluation and feedback.

In his opinion, the major problems in child welfare today, were: (a) unrealistic planning—

*The paper appears in this volume.

i.e., planning which was not need based, (b) inadequate machinery for planning, (c) lack of wide-ranging delivery network, (d) inefficient feedback, and (e) lack of community participation.

A number of participants took the opportunity to describe what was being done in their States and how. Later on, the discussion centred on the following points: (1) role of voluntary agencies, (2) organisational structures, (3) administrative procedures, (4) personnel, and (5) training.

Role of Voluntary Organisations: One participant expressed his view that work done by voluntary agencies needs to be supervised by the government. There was much overlap in their functions while it was necessary to avoid duplication. This evoked a reply from a representative of such agencies to the effect that their work was fully open to such supervision and that it was indeed being supervised since the agencies were, by and large, registered bodies governed by the provisions of the Registration of Societies Act. Another member said that these agencies had an important role to play in the field of social welfare. Theirs was an acknowledged presence and they should be strengthened. They should also be encouraged to spread their activities especially in rural areas where much work remained to be done. Some of the national bodies such as the Family Planning Association of India, Indian Council for Child Welfare and similar other agencies should be helped to open branches in all the States.

Conceding the point made by the earlier speaker about voluntary agencies' role, another participant still wanted the nature of this role carefully assessed. He reiterated the point that this role needed to be properly defined and examined.

One participant tried to reconcile the two view points by suggesting that what was really needed was a coordination between the work done by both governmental and voluntary agencies. The two could not function efficiently without each other. Each reinforced the services provided by the other. This line of argument was approved by a few others.

The financial vulnerability of voluntary agencies was mentioned by one participant. He pointed out that most of them depended by government grants. He would like to see them self-sufficient financially and not be dependent on the government. This view point too found favour with some participants.

One participant felt that the voluntary sector was not adequately organised especially at the State level. She criticised the working of the State social welfare advisory boards inasmuch as their coverage was not extensive enough in terms of both welfare services and welfare agencies. She wanted that there should be another statutory body at the State level in each State. Its main function should be to render assistance to agencies to get themselves properly organised and to promote greater inter-agency cooperation. In this way, welfare services in the States could be developed.

A representative of welfare agencies was opposed to this suggestion and said that if there were any shortcomings in the working of social welfare advisory boards, they could be removed, but establishing statutory bodies along similar lines was no answer to the problem. A few other participants too supported this latter view point and the suggestion for new bodies did not find much favour.

According to one speaker, the functioning of the State boards could be improved if the number of nominations motivated by political considerations were kept to the minimum.

The question of greater coordination between voluntary agencies was pursued further. One participant felt that in view of the fact that a number of voluntary organisations worked in the same district, and often shared a common platform, it would be desirable if they themselves could join hands and form a State level association. This association could take a comprehensive view of their welfare activities.

Organisational Structures : One participant suggested that at the national level, the National Children's Board could continue to function with the help of a bureau which could have varied functions to lay guidelines for work to be done at various levels and to coordinate such work so that good results could be achieved. The bureau could also undertake studies.

The Board could have branches in the States which could also serve as clearing houses for information. The stress should be on streamlining the functioning of both the National Board and the State boards. There are State boards even at present and their current role needs to be reviewed.

This particular suggestion did not receive much attention. Instead, many participants stressed that what was needed was the proper coordination between the Central and State Governments and between the various ministries at the national level and departments at the State level.

This line of thinking was taken a step further when it was suggested that it was necessary to have an ideal relationship at the high level between voluntary organisations such as the Indian Council for Child Welfare, official agencies like the Department of Social Welfare, the Planning Commission and the National Children's Board. At this level, decisions could be taken regarding work to be done, financial allocations, improved managerial inputs, etc.

This was one more occasion for a couple of participants to renew their suggestion that the organisation of voluntary agencies be strengthened. Prior to it, their organisational structures as at present could be reviewed.

The recommendation of another speaker was that though it was necessary to have good coordination between various departments in order to reduce compartmentalisation, it was desirable that each department be given the responsibility for specific tasks and programmes. For example, the Labour Department should be asked to set up a bureau to safeguard the interests of working children, the Public Works Department should open creches for children of construction workers and so on. Each department should first outline its work programme and then quantify it. And then all their work could be brought under one umbrella.

One participant tried to orient the discussion to the challenges which organisations would have to meet if they had to be properly geared to meeting children's needs in the future. Reviews were necessary but what was needed was the desire to learn lessons from past experiences. Another thing, present structures could not be demolished altogether. He favoured an approach which would preserve what was good in the current structures and bring in changes that would prove fruitful. More programmes were needed for specific groups not served adequately at present.

Yet another participant came out with a suggestion for effecting an administrative arrangement along the lines indicated below.

- (i) District councils which could :
 - (a) plan programmes at the district level on a broad spectrum basis,
 - (b) recommend opening new institutions,
 - (c) supervise voluntary agencies, and
 - (d) give publicity to programmes;
- (ii) a coordinating committee at the regional level to coordinate the work of district councils; and
- (iii) a committee at the State level to plan and control all work in the State and to pool resources available in the State.

However, this can, at best, be called as one viewpoint rather than a recommendation. For, it was pointed out that this plan made no provision for supervision of work at village level. The remedy, according to another participant, would be to have a functionary between the village and the block levels. He could look after a cluster of villages. A third participant intervened to say that such a functionary was not really required and the suggestion would only lead to a cluttering of the system.

One participant was not in favour of having State children's boards which could be entrusted with the work of organising children's services. He rather would have a commissioner for children's services, along the lines of commissioners for tribal development as at present.

The suggestion to have a State level planning committee was endorsed by another participant who wanted the committee's role so expanded as to be able to pool the resources of voluntary agencies so as to constitute a common fund for all the programmes.

At this point one participant representing a State Government said that in his State there were district planning and development councils (DPDCs) which prepare the district levels plans. According to him they should take greater interest in social welfare. Also that similar DPDCs should be started in other States as well. To be effective, the DPDCs needed to be strengthened financially.

It was stressed that panchayati raj institutions would be very useful in motivating the community to participate in child welfare programmes.

One suggestion which found much favour was that no matter what structure was adopted, it should have sufficient flexibility to cope with local requirements which would vary from State to State.

Administrative Procedures : One participant pleaded that administrative procedures should be so viewed as to promote the efficiency of the programme personnel. For example, the evaluation of an organisation should be done in a positive way. Suggestions should be constructive in nature. Statement of accounts should be seen in the proper perspective. A resilient approach to the whole matter was required.

Another emphasised that though a hierarchy was unavoidable in any programme administration, it had to be seen in functional terms. It was necessary to have not just vertical but horizontal coordination as well. Given the fact that there are more and more organisations in the overall system, the extent of horizontal coordination had to be commensurately wider. It should receive adequate emphasis.

A participant intervened to say that cost-benefit analysis of the programme would help improve their functioning and would enable administrators to review and modify organisational structures.

There was general agreement in regard to improving administrative procedures, especially those concerning grants to voluntary agencies. One of their representatives pointed out that, more often than not, they did not get grants in time. This put them into difficulties which at times assumed serious proportions leading to even closure of institutions.

Personnel : Before coming to the question of personnel one participant dwelt on the need to strengthen the ICDS in view of their favourable impact on children. This could be done only by having more child development project officers. One such officer was needed in each block.

It was also felt that an *anganwadi* worker had been entrusted with too many tasks which she is hard put to do during an extended working time. Considering this it was desirable to review the workload of this functionary.

While the question of organisation of children's services at different levels was being discussed, a few participants had recommended that there should be a gazetted social welfare officer at the district level to supervise the programmes in the district.

Training : This was, together with the topic of personnel, another peripheral subject touched upon during this session. While the ICDS was being talked about, a question was raised about the adequacy of training imparted to *anganwadi* workers. A suggestion was made that such training facilities should be assessed and improved.

A more wide-ranging suggestion was that all the functionaries at different levels should have more technical competence than at present. Even higher level officers should be oriented to methods of social welfare administration. Only then can the right type of administrative climate be created. The schools of social work could have a role to play here. They could offer their training facilities to children's services. Training would be required for officials of both government and voluntary agencies.

The chairman, Mr T.N. Chaturvedi summarised the discussion and offered a few comments himself. The roles of various agencies at national, State and local levels had to be properly defined in terms of their functional responsibilities. Here the outlook should be to

mutually reinforce the working of official and voluntary agencies. Another important consideration should be to isolate welfare programmes from political factors.

There should be allround raising of technical competence of functionaries. Those at higher levels should be exposed to programmes at the field level. They would then be more realistic and appreciative of programme needs. Adequate support should be given to programmes if they have to show result.

At present no one knows how many voluntary agencies function in the field. They should be listed so that we could know about their composition, functions, organisation, etc.

The current compartmentalisation of children's services should be done away with and the role of panchayati raj and local institutions should be strengthened. Voluntary agencies should be encouraged to operate in villages to a greater extent than at present.

The chairman stressed the need to have simple structures but which would be adequate for the tasks assigned to them. It was equally important to strengthen these structures with more managerial inputs. The question of norms for staffing became relevant in this context. These norms should be valid for even voluntary organisations.

The organisational functions of monitoring and evaluation were not adequately appreciated at present but they should receive greater attention. Reporting had to be brought out of its present ritualised rut. Similarly, direction was much more than mere control and supervision. Along with supervision went guidance and evaluation.

Participation was seen as an important factor. It implied that functionaries at all levels performed their duties in a conscious manner in a helpful attitudinal and behavioural climate. People's participation was vital to the success of programmes. Finally, the whole organisational hierarchy had to be firmed up with a synthesising effort.

WORKING PAPER FOUR

Mr. R.V. Krishnan, Secretary, Labour, Employment, and Technical Education Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, was requested to be the chairman for the session. Miss Mandakini Khandekar presented her paper 'Manpower and Training Requirements for Children's Services in the 'Eighties.*

The discussion centred around the following points : (1) type of training, (2) content of training, (3) duration of training, (4) network of training, (5) selection of trainees, (6) training the trainers, and (7) manpower requirements.

Type of Training : A participant from a voluntary agency was of the opinion that in-service training was more important for persons engaged in field-level programmes. She then described such training which her agency provided to its staff. Her suggestion was :

For a multipurpose training, a well-developed syllabus was necessary. It should be oriented to practical work for deprived children. Those organisations which have such service programmes should be encouraged to evolve the requisite syllabus.

Another participant too declared himself to be in favour of in-service training and pointed out that personnel for such programmes as the ICDS did not get much training. How then could ICDS be made replicable? He felt that not only should it be in-service but also short-term training which should make the staff knowledgeable about the : (i) programme, (ii) area, (iii) records and reports, and (iv) evaluation. It should be very specific and explicit. Such short-term training could be given by senior officers to their juniors. His suggestion was that every programme should have a simple manual to guide the staff in its work. Very simple forms for record-keeping, feedback and self-evaluation could be evolved. Organisations which conduct training programmes should keep others informed. An area for special

* Published in this volume.

training was rehabilitation of clients. He stressed that short-term training should be for many and long-term training for a few.

One participant pointed out that the Association of Trained Social Workers in India was concerned with various short-term para-professional courses. Taking an overall view of training he suggested that the following points be kept in mind: (i) selection of trainees, (ii) attitude formation, (iii) job-oriented training, (iv) suitable use of in-service training, say, for fresh graduates, and (v) cultivating non-formal ways of teaching. Trainees should receive substantial and not ritualistic training. In addition, he wanted that trained persons should not be transferred too often.

One participant made a plea for flexibility in training which should be skill-based and designed to change attitudes.

Though training should be imparted to functionaries at all levels, that for field-level staff was the most important. It should be specific to the different types of jobs done by different staff.

Content of Training : Training for children's services should include a study of child psychology and of social inputs in child development. A number of other participants strongly urged that the content of training be job-oriented and need-based. One of them referred to training of staff at different levels. Field level staff is often averse to training and for them simple training imparted through jargon-free courses would be useful. For the same reason their training could be short term.

One speaker pointed out that while training of balwadi teachers was biased in favour of health and nutrition, the actual work was mostly educational in nature. Training should be in consonance with the type of work for which it is meant. This view point was supported by another participant who added that while most of the trainee balsevikas had received only secondary education, their course content was very heavy.

A note of warning was sounded by one participant who cautioned against overtraining staff 'lest they are tempted to leave their jobs.'

Duration of Training : A number of participants had shown their preference for short term training. The other view point which was acceptable to most was that the duration be decided by the purpose for which it was to be given.

One participant, however, cautioned against 'short term training which did not have any long term impact'. The duration, according to him, should not be less than six months. He was supported by another participant who pointed out that short term training was not suitable because the course content was often considerable.

According to yet another participant, short term training was more suitable for higher level personnel who were already familiar with a number of things.

There thus were two schools of thought. It was, however, generally agreed that short term training was more suited for imparting information than for changing attitudes.

Network of Training : According to one participant, it was necessary to have a network of training, beginning with the national level going right down to the local. At all levels the attempt should be to pool the available resources.

Another participant stressed the need to have training all along the line. If only field level staff is trained, those higher up would not know how best to utilise them. His view was that training for just one cadre becomes dysfunctional.

According to one participant State-level training centres should immediately follow the national centres. There should be no regional centres in between, which serve a group of States. Each State has its own special problems and grouping two or more States would not serve any useful purpose.

Another participant was in favour of having a training infrastructure at all levels.

Selection of Trainees : One participant raised the question who should be trained. His own answer was train those who can be retained in the service. This would reduce wastage among those trained. Another pointed out that sending employed persons for training was difficult for a number of reasons. He recommended that inmates of women's homes could be

trained for children's services. This would also serve the purpose of rehabilitating the women concerned. Similarly, retired persons in welfare services too could be given requisite training and employed in children's services. Their experience in the wider field of social welfare could be utilised profitably.

Yet another participant suggested that where the services were meant for under-privileged classes, a search could be made for trainees from among them. There, then, would be less need to change their attitudes. This view point was supported and it was mentioned that this approach had been tried out and proved successful. Another suggestion was made in this context : while *bal sevika* training is a Central scheme, let the State Governments conduct the actual training programme. Trainees could, then, be selected by the State Governments.

A couple of participants wanted that even voluntary workers should be trained adequately.

Training the Trainers: The suggestion that senior staff within an agency should train their juniors found ready response from many. One participant called such senior person a 'resource person' and said that efforts be made to develop such a person. Thus the idea grew that training the trainers would be an important aspect. It was stressed that the resource person should not only be well up in theory but be one who had ample field level experience. For the trainers, the training could be in the form of seminars, workshops, orientation programmes, etc. One of the aims of such training should be to influence trainers' attitudes.

Manpower Requirements: Manpower is inadequate everywhere. To overcome the problem it is necessary to fix norms for staffing patterns for tasks which could be divided into two broad categories: (i) general administration, and (ii) operation of services. It is true that there are financial constraints, but it would be better to have certain minimum norms. Even voluntary agencies should strive to observe these norms.

This view point, put forth by one participant, was favourably commented upon by a few others. They also wanted that manpower requirements for the 'Eighties be ascertained first and training programmes be planned accordingly.

One participant cautioned that similar exercises in the past had proved unrealistic and, therefore, misleading. One study had put the requirement at 25,000 social workers every year. But the out-turn even now is barely 1,000 per year.

Assessing manpower requirements should be a prior exercise before deciding upon training patterns, according to one participant. The services should be professionalised and a cadre could be built. The content of training could be geared to knowledge about programmes, methods of giving services and organisational aspects.

General Comments : A few participants drew special attention to the dearth of training material, especially Indian material. They wanted that the deficiency be made good.

A number of participants stressed the importance of making the administrators aware of the value of training. Their attitudes needed to be changed wherever necessary.

Miss Khandekar summarised the discussion. She said that the discussion had served the purpose of bringing out the linkage between the various aspects of training. There was much agreement on making training need-based and job-oriented. Its content could be so devised that the trainees: (i) became knowledgeable, (ii) acquired requisite skills, and (iii) had the right attitudes. Organisational aspects such as duration, network for training, selection of both trainees and trainers, equipping the latter for their job, etc. could all be linked to the question of type and content of training to be imparted to personnel at different levels. In regard to manpower, points concerning norms of staffing pattern and methods of assessing the future needs were important.

WORKING PAPER FIVE

Prof. A.P. Barnabas, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, was requested to be the chairman for the session. Mr. P.D. Kulkarni's paper 'Shifts Necessary

iii Policies and Organisation' was read for him by Miss Khandekar in his absence. A summary of the paper is given below.

Summary of Working Paper

The following shifts were necessary : (i) from *ad hocism* to planned effort; (ii) from piecemeal approach to going by priorities, (iii) from soft options to hard choice; (iv) from tokenism to sizable package of minimum services; and (v) from present-oriented perspective to futuristic perspective.

The priorities be laid down in such a way that maximum returns could be gathered from all the inputs. One way of doing so is that tax-supported services should be for normal children while voluntary efforts could be devoted to services for handicapped children since it is easy to mobilise community's support for the latter. This is also the way to reconcile the conflicting situation created by applying the economic criterion and the social criterion for deciding upon priorities. This is where hard choices need to be made.

The IYC should be used to establish a widespread network of elementary but essential services for children like any other public utility. This policy will necessitate a change from *ad hocism* to planned effort.

The pyramid model could be tried out for children's services with models of excellence at strategic points which could influence services within their area of such influence. The pyramid model would stride evenly across the local areas, rural and urban. It could also take care of the problem of quality vs. quantity.

In recent years the shift in policy for children's services has been from mere welfare services for the handicapped and maladjusted children to development services for normal children. This 'Beyond Welfare' approach needs to be strengthened by the age-based integration of children's services.

In devising such an integrated strategy of planning and implementation, children's services will have to join hands with more established major social services like health and education. For this, it would be necessary to evolve a programme of broad-spectrum, inter-sectoral and inter-disciplinary training for personnel for children's services.

Most of the children's services are regarded as State subjects while the bulk of funding for them has come from the Union Government. Also the major thrust of initiative in developing them. So there is a strong case to place these subjects on the Concurrent List.

Discussion

The chairman called attention to the dilemma created by the situation in which the needs were on a very large scale but where there was a paucity of resources. A rational approach to planning in general and integration of services in particular, was required. For this purpose, the totality of needs should be considered. He then requested the participants to discuss the working paper. The discussion was under the following heads: (1) hard choices, (2) shifts in policies, (3) organisational structure, (4) integrated approach, (5) planned effort, (6) models of excellence, (7) voluntary sector, (8) concurrent jurisdiction, (9) resources, and (10) general.

Hard Choices : One participant voiced his concern over the fact that despite all the planning that had gone in child welfare so far, there still is the problem of lack of resources. So, the questions were how best to utilise the available resources and how to give a direction to child welfare programmes. He supported Mr. Kulkarni's thesis that the time had come to go in for hard choices. According to him there were two ways of looking at welfare: (i) It is an investment for maximum benefits to the society, and (ii) it is a method of helping the handicapped sections in the society. The first indicated efforts to satisfy the basic needs of all, For this purpose, the government should take up the responsibility of providing minimum services to maximum number of children in both rural and urban areas. The second objective of welfare could be achieved to a greater extent by voluntary organisations. He was keen that despite the constraints of resources, quality should not suffer. Improving the skills of

staff was needed. Also, much organised effort to mobilise public goodwill by voluntary agencies.

Another participant agreed with this criticism and said that most of the welfare services were meant for the handicapped children. "Don't leave out the underprivileged and the handicapped from social welfare—social welfare is meant for them," he added.

Another participant disagreed with Mr. Kulkarni's suggestion that tax-supported services should be for normal children and voluntary services for the handicapped. It was a retrograde suggestion, in his opinion. He felt that the responsibility of providing welfare services to the handicapped rested squarely on the government, particularly the Central Government. He wondered if the Planning Commission had understood this point. At the same time he wanted that much thinking was necessary regarding welfare services at the State level and at the micro-level, especially in terms of content and organisation of services. In his opinion, any line of thinking which is based on the dichotomy of "welfare criterion" and "economic criterion" would not yield any positive result. He described it as "self-defeating" because even the welfare services had their economic and other returns.

While reaching to this criticism yet another participant supported Mr. Kulkarni's viewpoint and pointed out that given a greater concern for the handicapped "we sometimes fail to realise the potential of normal children." The intention is not to neglect the handicapped. He interpreted Mr. Kulkarni's suggestion to mean that it was an effort to ensure services to both the groups of children. It was necessary to have radical remedies for a situation which has not changed for over 30 years. Ensuring public participation is difficult, more so for normal children who still needed some minimum services. At the same time, he pointed out that voluntary effort was mostly urban-based. A couple of other respondents supported these viewpoints.

Commenting on the paper as a whole, one participant favoured the view that hard choices were necessary. Also, that a policy shift was inevitable. However, he felt that the deciding factors were the widespread poverty in India and the problem of hunger. Social services had to be developed and for this a policy was needed. Children's services could be promoted along the same lines as for services for the scheduled castes and tribes. The government had to assume this responsibility until the general economic standard is raised. At present, the voluntary efforts were not adequate.

Another participant felt that the economic criteria were at the basis of the IYC programmes. He wanted that there should be policies for strengthening family.

Shifts in Policy : One participant said that a wide-ranging shift in policies for children's services was needed. It could be in the light of the subsequent policies on health, education, etc. It should consider, in specific terms, the content of package of services for different groups of children, coordination of work of the Central and the State Governments and between different ministries and departments and provision for a built-in evaluation. He felt that such a review could be done by the National Children's Board. Or, the Central Government could give the framework and the State Governments could formulate their policies. Implementation of policies is very important. For this purpose there could be an annual review.

Organisational Structure : One participant favoured setting up a secretariat for the National Children's Board. It should be properly staffed. He also favoured convergence of political will and administrative efficiency. The Parliament could be the focal point for convergence. Geographically, the micro-level approach should be adopted. Functions could be grouped more rationally and scientifically at the State-level. This approach could lead to resilience in budgeting. Norms of functioning could be set up. At the same time, there should be a more open functioning of programmes which could make their implementation more effective. Planning and evaluation expertise could be built within the organisation. There could be standing committees on monitoring and evaluation. Schools of social work too should have a role to play. The department of social welfare should be more broad-based.

The last suggestion was echoed by another participant who felt that the department of



social welfare should be fully in the picture of children's services given by other departments.

Integrated Approach : One participant advocated doing away with the departmental approach because a number of departments were involved who spent large amount on children's services. A client-oriented approach was needed.

Another participant wanted that the integrated approach to the minimum package was good. But he wanted the services to be given to all the children and not only to some of them. He, however, cautioned against attaching a stigma to the recipients of welfare services. Something would have to be done so that such a stigma is not associated with welfare services. He had seen the scheme of Antyodaya becoming vitiated on account of it.

One participant wanted the whole group to devote some time to discuss the specifics of both the minimum package and the integrated approach.

Not only was integrated approach to some services needed but coordinated policies were required because many departments were concerned with child development and child welfare services.

According to another participant integrated services were given to only children upto six years. But even older children needed such services.

Planned Effort : One participant questioned the concepts of "tokenism" and "*ad hocism*" as put forth by Mr. Kulkarni. According to him only the first plan was, to some extent, riddled with *ad hocism*. He considered it to be a more basic problem with which every system was concerned. Uneasy compromises get built into it because of many conflicting pulls. The question as to why there was tokenism and *ad hocism* required greater academic understanding.

Another pointed out that at least in nutrition programmes, there was no paucity of funds. The Planning Commission had made very liberal grants and there was no reason why this particular programme could not be substantial.

One participant said that the time frame for planning services should be such that all children up to 10 years are covered. The minimum package of services should be clearly specified so that planned efforts could be initiated to deliver it to the children concerned.

According to another participant who spoke immediately after the previous one opined that it was necessary to provide a cultural foundation for children's growth so that they became dignified members of the society.

In promoting planned efforts for children's services, it would be useful to involve the social work teachers in the country. This view was expressed by one participant.

Models of Excellence : One participant criticised the idea of models of excellence put forth by Mr. Kulkarni. He feared that they would degenerate into islands of privileges and doubted if they could be replicated in adequate numbers. According to him it was a retrograde suggestion especially because it went with the other suggestion of concurrent jurisdiction for children's services. The welfare services would be in danger of fragmentation if this model was accepted. Instead, he wanted that the concept of a package of minimum services should be accepted and the programme be planned accordingly.

Another participant felt that in a big country like India it was inevitable that only a few centres could be planned as models of excellence. "Every *balwadi* could hardly be perfect." These models could give quality-improving guidance to others who could improve themselves over a period of time. Having such models is something of a compromise.

One participant was of the view that models of excellence don't have to be set up: they evolve on their own. Quality of work depends on personnel—their experience and attitudes.

A few participants welcomed the idea because most of the voluntary organisations subsisted mainly on grants and also because quite a few schemes were Centrally sponsored but administered by the States.

Voluntary Sector : One participant wanted that before this sector could be evaluated, it had to be put on a scientific footing. A few others felt that most of the voluntary agencies depended substantially on official grants and that they did not have much voluntary input,

They were "10 per cent voluntary and 90 per cent government." Also, that they were prone to political influence.

Another participant pleaded for a greater understanding of voluntary sector and said that people themselves should be the source of any ideas on welfare programmes. Social workers should be based at the taluka level and not at the State or even the district levels so that they could be nearer the people. They should know what the people want and be the key persons in implementing the programme. She gave illustrations of how voluntary workers were active in areas where the government officials did not go very often. She regretted that some voluntary organisations were becoming dependent on the government.

One participant expressed his view that voluntary agencies were unable to get contributions from the public because of high taxation rates. The result was that the agencies had to look to the government for grants.

Concurrent Jurisdiction : One participant felt that Mr. Kulkarni was reversing the trends in welfare. Most of the welfare programmes had to be given at the State level. As such there was no need to involve the Central Government. He received support from many others. One of them said, "Most of the action lies with the State Government; the Central Government can at the most give guidelines. This it does and for which it must provide funds so that State Governments can ensure that the guidelines are followed and that they move in the desired direction."

One participant favoured concurrent jurisdiction as a tool for removing disparities between different states. The Central Government could take initiative in this regard.

Resources : One participant advocated the greater use of proper budgeting in order to solve some, if not all, problems in resources. "Resilience is what is required," he said.

Another was of the view that the present child welfare policy was unrealistic and full of wishful thinking and fanciful statements. This was so because the basic problem was one of scarcity of resources. Radical solution was required. "We should consider closing down the social welfare department which had limited resources. The idea is that social welfare should permeate all other departments. Voluntary participation had to be mobilised."

One participant felt that the resources of local bodies too should be utilised. At present their role was negligible. Similarly, community participation was an important factor.

This line of thinking was pursued by another participant who suggested that the industrial sector could be called upon to contribute about 5 per cent of their finances for services for their workers' children. For a proper utilisation of available resources, he suggested that areas of operation should be carefully identified and only then should resources be allocated.

Another participant was of the view that resources could be properly utilised if services are properly coordinated. The agency entrusted with such a task should be very strong.

One of the ways of judicious use of scarce resources was to promote welfare of the handicapped and underprivileged children. There was no reason why priority should be given to services for normal children, according to one participant.

Yet another suggestion was that the beneficiaries themselves should pay for at least some of the services which they utilise.

General : One participant stressed the importance of training staff at different levels and endorsed Mr. Kulkarni's viewpoints on the matter. Many services for children require expertise in the subject but the administrators do not always realise that such expertise is needed with the result that even package programmes such as the ICDS are not implemented properly. She pleaded for a well-equipped cadre of experts who could provide leadership to children's services.

Another participant questioned the premise that expertise comes from training. "It comes from experience," he averred.

One participant suggested that there should be a distinction between under-privileged sections and deprived sections because their problems were different.

One participant wanted that social problems, especially beggary in large cities, should be solved on a priority basis.



One participant said that if children are by choice then it would be easier to develop services for them. For this purpose a family should be seen as a unit and should receive greater attention.

The chairman commented upon the wide-ranging debate on the working paper and highlighted the following points made by various participants. There was a need to review the policy for children's services in terms of both content and coverage. The family could be taken as a unit. An effort was needed to coordinate the work of all the departments and also to have an appropriate division of responsibilities. The local self-governments could also be involved in children's services. Programmes of research and evaluation could be taken up within the organisations.

All the services need not be free. But the question was : to what extent could services be charged for? Industrial sector could make its contribution to the welfare effort through its resources. Budgeting could be based on the principle of flexibility. Training of personnel — both professional and para-professional—could be promoted.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

Mrs. Leela Moolgaokar, chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, was in the chair for the valedictory function. Mr. Saran Singh, Secretary, Social Welfare Department, Government of India, gave the valedictory address. He drew attention to the magnitude of the children's problems in this country and said that a baby is born every one and a half seconds and that by 1989, there would be about 270 million children. Nearly 100 million children lived in conditions adverse to survival. Nearly 40 per cent of all deaths occurred in the age-group 0-5 years.

He traced the child welfare efforts and said that it was really in the Fifth Plan period that we came to grips with child welfare and development. The ICDS was launched and for the first time a comprehensive package of services was provided to the mother and the child. The National Children's Board too was set up following the declaration of the national policy on children. The outlay for child welfare was increased from Rs. 31.13 crores in the Fifth Plan to Rs. 54.50 crores in Sixth Plan. A national plan of action for the observance of IYC in India was also formulated.

According to Mr. Singh, the whole of 1980s were going to be very challenging and concentrated efforts would be needed for the effective realisation of the objectives. Child welfare was intimately linked with consanguine aspects of social development and cannot be viewed in isolation. "Besides controlling population we will have to concentrate on ecological conservation, community action, and basic services. Along with governmental efforts, the participation of local communities and voluntary organisations in children's services is of crucial importance. They should involve and assist the family in meeting children's basic needs", concluded Mr. Singh.



Administration for Child Welfare

A Select Bibliography

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